

An aerial photograph of a university campus, showing various buildings, parking lots, and roads. The image is in grayscale and serves as the background for the journal cover. A white globe icon is positioned to the left of the title text.

---

UVC JOURNAL *of*  
NATIONAL SECURITY

---

VOLUME 3, ISSUE 1  
SPRING 2019

---

 UVU JOURNAL *of*  
NATIONAL SECURITY

---

Volume III  
Issue 1  
Spring 2019

---

 UVU JOURNAL *of*  
NATIONAL SECURITY

---

ISSN 2576-1595

Center for National Security Studies  
Utah Valley University  
800 West University Parkway  
Orem, UT 84058

[www.uvu.edu/nss/journal.html](http://www.uvu.edu/nss/journal.html)

---

 UVU JOURNAL *of*  
NATIONAL SECURITY

---

The *UVU Journal of National Security* is Utah's first student-edited academic journal focused on national security issues. The *JNS* is published twice annually—in April and December—and it is supported by the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS) at Utah Valley University (UVU). The *JNS* publishes timely, insightful articles on critical national security matters, including topics relating to foreign affairs, intelligence, homeland security, terrorism, and national defense. The *JNS* accepts articles from UVU students, alumni, faculty, staff, and administration. Submissions should be sent to the *JNS* Editor-in-Chief at [nationalsecurity@uvu.edu](mailto:nationalsecurity@uvu.edu).

#### THE CENTER FOR NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

The CNSS at UVU was established in January 2016. The Center is the first of its kind in the State of Utah. The CNSS is a nonpartisan academic institution for the instruction, analysis, and discussion of the issues related to the field of U.S. national security. The mission of the CNSS is twofold: to promote an interdisciplinary academic environment on campus that critically examines both the theoretical and practical aspects of national security policy and practice; and to assist students in preparing for public and private sector national security careers through acquisition of subject matter expertise, analytical skills, and practical experience. The CNSS aims to provide students with the knowledge, skills, and opportunities needed to succeed in the growing national security sector.

#### UTAH VALLEY UNIVERSITY

UVU is a teaching institution that provides opportunity, promotes student success, and meets regional educational needs. UVU builds on a foundation of substantive scholarly and creative work to foster engaged learning. The university prepares professionally competent people of integrity who, as lifelong learners and leaders, serve as stewards of a globally interdependent community.

The opinions expressed in this journal are the views of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views or opinions of Utah Valley University.



---

 UVU JOURNAL *of*  
NATIONAL SECURITY

---

VOLUME III    SPRING 2019    ISSUE 1

Editor-in-Chief  
*Ryan Griffith*

Managing Editor  
*Sam Elzinga*

Content Editors  
*Bryce Krieger*  
*Andrew Jensen*  
*Blake Johnstone*  
*Alec Heitzmann*  
*Zach Wessells*  
*Cougar Einfeldt*  
*Lisa Jones*

Technical Editors  
*English 3050 class*

Faculty Advisors  
*Ryan Vogel*  
*Deb Thornton*



# CONTENTS

- 1 NOTE FROM THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF  
*Ryan Griffith*

## FOREWORD

- 3 AN EVOLVING NATIONAL SECURITY LANDSCAPE  
PROVIDES UNIQUE OPPORTUNITIES  
*J. Alan Liotta*

## FACULTY ARTICLE

- 5 COMMUNITY POLICING: AN APPROACH FOR  
COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM  
*Dan Waddington, PhD*

## STUDENT ARTICLES

- 17 THE REVOLUTION IN US FOREIGN POLICY: TRUMAN  
AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY ACT OF 1947  
*Andre Jones*
- 31 THE STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE BELT AND  
ROAD INITIATIVE  
*Mark Driggs*
- 39 THE KURDISH EXPERIENCE: THEIR STRUGGLE FOR  
INDEPENDENCE  
*Baillie Sigman*
- 47 HOW THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUSTAINABLE  
DEVELOPMENT GOALS CAN BE USED TO COMBAT  
TERRORISM IN IRAQ  
*Emma Warner*
- 59 CONTRIBUTORS







## A NOTE FROM THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

---

*Ryan Griffith*

Once again, the process of creating a journal has left us with highs, lows, and everything in between. The rigor required to create a professional product has as always left me feeling grateful for the continued support of so many incredible people. Anything worth doing is worth doing right, and most things done right have required hard working, dedicated teams of individuals. In terms of topics written on, this is perhaps our most diverse issue yet, and it shows the need for not only a depth of understanding but a breadth as well.

I commend the authors for diving into such complex topics and presenting them in a way that illuminates their importance in US national security. I hope you, the reader, will enjoy these articles as I have and use the ideas they prompt to continue the dialogue needed in our world of increasing great power competition.

Ryan Griffith

Editor-in-Chief

*Journal of National Security*





## FOREWORD: AN EVOLVING NATIONAL SECURITY LANDSCAPE PROVIDES UNIQUE OPPORTUNITIES

---

*J. Alan Liotta,  
Former Director of Detainee Affairs,  
Office of the Secretary of Defense*

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt once opined that “true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.” So, I find it timely that the spring issue of the *UVU Journal of National Security* for 2019 focuses on such key topics as countering violent extremism, Chinese economic development, the quest for Kurdish independence, and the future of Iraq. Each is a critical issue, and when combined with understanding what motivates North Korean leadership, ending the conflict in Syria, defusing tensions in the East China Sea, and halting Boko Haram’s wanton and reckless destruction in Nigeria, they provide a global roadmap to undercutting international security.

Since the end of World War II, the United States has sought to use its global supremacy to promote FDR’s goals. We played a critical role in rebuilding both Europe and Japan. Working together with global allies, we provided an economic foundation in both regions that enabled the average citizen to improve their lifestyle and develop stable and transparent governing institutions. And, when necessary, we offered global security—as a deterrent whenever possible, and with force when no other means afforded such protection.

Our global alliances ensured that both Europe and Asia developed responsibly. Seizing on the era of glasnost in Mikhail Gorbachev’s Soviet Union, I focused my collegiate senior thesis in 1982 on the political crossroads facing China. I asked, what needed to come first for China—political freedom or economic freedom? After examining the required

changes in Chinese politics, society, and the economy, I ultimately determined that unlike in Russia, which promoted political freedom to create economic freedom, in China it needed to be the opposite. And indeed, under Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang's leadership, they focused on making (then radical) economic changes that significantly enhanced the individual economic freedoms of the average Chinese. Their neglect to make the necessary political reforms, however, resulted in the Chinese student protests and ultimately the Tiananmen massacre in 1989.

Yet, the United States did not turn its back. Rather, we embraced the spirit of change in both Russia and China as the means to broker a new and positive relationship. This work brought down the Berlin Wall and helped transform China into an economic juggernaut. And quite possibly, the work offers the road to success in remaining global hot-spots such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, and North Korea.

This is where the UVU National Security Studies program plays a pivotal role. In a short time, the program has quickly emerged, and grown, as a thoughtful and creative source of new ideas. Bi-annually, this journal provides a forum for National Security experts—from Utah to our nation's capital—to stimulate new ideas, constructively debate potential solutions, and effectively train the next generation of specialists. UVU NSS effectively utilize internships throughout the national security infrastructure to gain firsthand knowledge and position themselves to promote new thinking.

Most importantly, I believe the students and graduates of this program embody what former Secretary of Defense Bill Cohen envisioned when he noted that “first, we must continually reaffirm the principle that the security of the United States is not, and should never be, a partisan matter. The United States can best defend its national security interests abroad by uniting behind a bipartisan security policy at home.” UVU NSS students, bring forth your thoughtful ideas, your revolutionary concepts, and your criticism of the status quo. Now is the time to step up to the plate. Your country needs you.



## COMMUNITY POLICING: AN APPROACH FOR COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM

---

*Dan Waddington, PhD*

### ABSTRACT

Although the concept of community policing for countering violent extremism seems to have value on its face, little data is available to measure its true effectiveness. This paper will review the fundamental principles of community policing and assess its merit as a methodology to counter violent extremism.

### INTRODUCTION

Early in my police career, I enjoyed a lot of tactical, response-driven assignments, including Drug Interdiction, Gang Task Force, and SWAT. However, over time as I gained more experience, I learned that these kinetic responses to criminal acts did little to prevent future problems. During my career, which included countless in-service trainings and workshops, I learned about policing philosophies, such as Community Policing and Problem-Oriented Policing, which focus on developing solutions to roots of crime and problems as opposed to responding solely to the criminal act itself. These principles of working with community members to address root causes of crime resonated with me and became the nucleus of my policing efforts.

After retiring from police work, I became involved in academics. Eventually, both my academic interests and consulting work effort focused on international police reform projects. I learned that community policing was also the preferred model for international police reform.<sup>1</sup> International donors, civil society organizations, and policing consultants working with developing countries have adopted community policing

---

1. Andrew Goldsmith and James Sheptycki, *Crafting Transnational Policing: Police Capacity Building and Global Policing Reform* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2007).

as an archetype for democratic reforms. One of the reasons that community policing is valued as a reform strategy is that it can be useful in improving public perception of the state/government as well as public perception of the police.<sup>2</sup>

### COMMUNITY POLICING DEFINED

Before delving into the potential roles of community policing, it is important to define community policing. Unfortunately, since its inception, community policing has neither been well understood nor has it been implemented consistently. One example of this was in Guyana. In 2009–2010, I worked on a project funded by the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) to develop a community policing training program for the Guyana Police Force. In the early stages of the project we met with the Commissioner of Police, his executive staff, and police academy officials to discuss the project. We were told that Guyana had already implemented community policing, but it had been a complete failure and they were not interested in trying it again. After a series of follow-up questions to better understand how they had implemented “community policing,” we learned that the government had taken handguns seized by the police in criminal cases and issued them to local community members to fight gangs in troubled neighborhoods. The idea was that the community members would be in a better position to protect themselves and create a deterrence to local criminals. These community members were even provided some compensation, but no training. However, their project was predictably met with scorn by both the police and many communities. Ultimately, our training program had to be re-branded in Guyana from “Community Policing” to “Quality Service” and re-introduced so as to circumvent their understanding of community policing, at which point the training was fully embraced.

From its inception, there has been a wide array of opinions regarding what “community policing” actually means. Indeed, one of the greatest challenges of community policing has been the lack of a consistent definition. It even comes with varying nomenclature, such as community-oriented policing and community-based policing. As David

---

2. Mehmet Alper Sozer, *Crime and Community Policing*, El Paso, TX: LFB Scholarly Pub. <https://www.google.com/url?q=http://www.policechiefmagazine.org/research-in-brief-the-challenge-and-promise-of-using-community-policing-strategies-to-prevent-violent-extremism/%0A-Can%27t&sa=D&ust=1552076941898000&cusg=AFQjCNFuA0KdOr4XuAFIH-eiVx6bl53EUg>, 2009.

H. Bayley stated in his chapter in Rosenbaum's compilation, *The Challenge of Community Policing: Testing the Promises*, "Community Policing means too many things to different people."<sup>3</sup>

In 1994 a consortium of policing experts and executives from the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Sheriffs' Association, the Police Executive Research Forum, and the Police Foundation convened to define and characterize community policing, and to assess its potential for the future of policing. The consortium's characterization of community policing has particular credibility, primarily because it was developed by a number of seasoned practitioners from a variety of police organizations, with the support and consultation of academicians. The consortium generated a real-world perspective of community policing, describing it as being "in essence, a collaboration between the police and the community that identifies and solves community problems."<sup>4</sup>

The US government has been a strong advocate of the principles of community policing. In 1994 the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS Office) was established under the Violent Crime Control and Enforcement Act. The COPS Office is a unit within the U.S. Department of Justice responsible for advancing the practice of community policing. Since 1994, the COPS Office has invested more than \$14 billion to help advance community policing.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, COPS is committed to providing a deep understanding of community policing, including its objectives and the success of its implementation. It is the position of the COPS Office that "community policing is a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies that support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime."<sup>6</sup>

---

3. David H. Bayley, "International Differences in Community Policing," in *The Challenge of Community Policing: Testing the Promises*, ed. Dennis P. Rosenbaum, (Los Angeles: SAGE, 1994), 278.

4. National Criminal Justice Reference Service, *Understanding Community Policing: A Framework for Action* (Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, 1994), vii. <http://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles/commpp.pdf>.

5. COPS: Community Oriented Policing Services, 2016. <http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/>.

6. Community Oriented Policing Services, *Community Policing Defined* (Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, 2014), 1. <http://ric-zai-inc.com/Publications/cops-p157-pub.pdf>.



In September 2013, I participated in a conference of the Global Counter-Terrorism Forum (GCTF), in which a document, Good Practices on Community Engagement and Community-Oriented Policing as Tools to Counter Violent Extremism, was formally drafted and adopted as a guide for police officials.<sup>7</sup> Subsequently, organizations such as the GCTF, the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), and the International Centre of Excellence for Countering Violent Extremism (Hedayah), have promoted community policing around the world as an important strategy for law enforcement agencies to impede the radicalization process that can lead to violent extremism and acts of terrorism.

As in my police career, where I saw community policing as a more effective approach to addressing crime problems, I could also see the potential value of community policing as a methodology for countering extremism that can lead to terrorism.

#### COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM

To discuss these concepts meaningfully, it is necessary to establish a working definition of violent extremism, as I did initially with community policing. David Lake submits that extremism is somewhat hard to define but can be characterized by two key attributes. First, extremists hold political and ideological beliefs that are not widely shared, even within their own societies. Second, extremists typically lack the means or the power to obtain their professed goals.<sup>8</sup> Gus Martin has written extensively on extremism and terrorism, suggesting that extremism is fundamentally a radical expression of one's political values, and that it is a precursor to terrorism. Martin states that extremism is an "overarching belief system that terrorists use to justify their violent behavior."<sup>9</sup> Sometimes the concepts of radicalism and extremism become conflated, but radicalization is more typically associated with "the process of developing extremist ideologies and beliefs."<sup>10</sup> However, it is

---

7. Global Counterterrorism Forum, "Good Practices on Community Engagement and Community-Oriented Policing," 2014. <https://www.thegctf.org/Portals/1/Documents/Framework%20Documents/A/GCTF-CE-and-COP-Good-Practices-ENG.pdf>.

8. David A. Lake, "Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century." *Dialogue IO* 1, no. 1 (2002): 15–29.

9. Gus Martin, *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2015), 28.

10. Randy Borum, "Radicalization Into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories" *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 4, (2011): 7–36, p. 9.

not clear how individuals move from simply being angry, frustrated, or disaffected to accepting violence as an answer for their political struggles. In fact, Nasser-Eddine et al. indicate that the majority of people exposed to radical ideas are not radicalized.<sup>11</sup>

It would follow that if radicalization and extremism are precursors to acts of terrorism, then one coherent approach to eliminating or at least minimizing terrorist acts, as Rieger suggests, would be to curtail the radicalization and extremism that breeds them.<sup>12</sup> This rationale has incentivized the development of programs to counter extremism. Unfortunately, “countering violent extremism,” (CVE) is a term that also has no universally accepted programmatic clarity despite the fact that it is increasingly included as a significant component of international policy and was even the theme for an international summit organized by the US White House.<sup>13</sup>

As opposed to a reactive, counter-terrorism response meeting violence with violence (such as fighting crime with SWAT), CVE is more proactive/preventive, attempting to interdict before radicalization progresses to violence. Its programs attempt to subvert extremism and the radicalization from which it spawns.<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, it should also be noted that killing or capturing terrorists after they have been engaged in terrorist acts is reactive and has not been an effective solution to maintaining security. As opposed to having a deterrent effect, killing or capturing terrorists is oft cited as a mechanism for extremists to mobilize supporters to participate in violent and risky activities. The violent responses by counterinsurgent forces, “such as the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan or Coalition forces in Iraq, [have] generat[ed] resentment and anger that

---

11. Minerva Nasser-Eddine, Bridget Garnham, Katerina Agostino, and Gilbert Caluya, “Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Literature Review” (Edinburgh, AU: Counter Terrorism and Security Technology Centre, 2011). [www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA543686](http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA543686).

12. Tom Rieger, “The Anatomy of a Swamp: Predictive Factors of Different Types of Radicalism,” in *Protecting the Homeland from International and Domestic Terrorism Threats: Current Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives on Root Causes, the Role of Ideology, and Programs for Counter-radicalization and Disengagement*, ed. Laurie Fenstermacher (Washington DC: US Government White Paper, 2010), 76–81.

13. US Department of State, “The White House Summit to Counter Violent Extremism,” 2015. <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/cvesummit/index.htm>.

14. Georgia Holmer, “Countering Violent Extremism: A Peacebuilding Perspective” (Washington DC: USIP Special Report, 2013).

[have] increas[ed] both passive and active support for insurgent groups.”<sup>15</sup> In fact, violent, kinetic responses to terrorist acts have been used as a mechanism for recruiting new radicals to their cause. The most common argument used by extremists for their acts of violence is “to claim that one’s enemies have done the same [and deserve . . .]retaliation in kind or actually to blame one’s enemies for such actions.”<sup>16</sup> Extremist groups must garner public support, or at least a segment of public support, to be able to recruit additional devotees to their cause.

The US Department of State’s publication on its strategy for countering violent extremism maintains that it refers to “proactive actions to counter efforts by violent extremists to radicalize, recruit, and mobilize followers to violence and to address specific factors that facilitate violent extremist recruitment and radicalization to violence.”<sup>17</sup> Holmer describes the strategy as a domain of policies, programs, and interventions designed to prevent individuals from engaging in violence associated with radical political, social, cultural, and religious ideologies and groups.<sup>18</sup> The directive typically features proactive community-focused endeavors to undermine radicalization and extremism that can lead to terrorist acts, as opposed to the “search and destroy” approach of most counter-terrorism efforts. This approach has been widely accepted in war-averse political arenas as a preferred nomenclature and alternative to the “War on Terror.”<sup>19</sup>

Dr. Alex Schmid, a Research Fellow at the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism and Director of the Terrorism Research Initiative, states that countering violent extremism focuses more specifically on the pathway to violence. Schmid argues that “its value lies in the concept

---

15. Luke N. Condra, Joseph H. Felter, Radha K. Iyengar, and Jacob N. Shapiro, *The Effect of Civilian Casualties in Afghanistan and Iraq*, National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 2010. <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a576240.pdf>.

16. Anthony Oberschall, “Explaining Terrorism: The Contribution of Collective Action Theory,” *Sociological Theory* 22, no. 01 (2004): 30. <http://ezproxy.uvu.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsjsr&AN=edsjsr.3648957&site=eds-live>.

17. Department of State & USAID, “Department of State & USAID Joint Strategy on Countering Violent Extremism” (Washington, DC: US Department of State, 2016), 4. [https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/PBAAE503.pdf](https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PBAAE503.pdf).

18. Holmer, “Countering Violent Extremism.”

19. Alex P. Schmid, “Countering Violent Extremism: A Promising Response to Terrorism,” International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, 2012. <https://icct.nl/publication/countering-violent-extremism-a-promising-response-to-terrorism/>.

of ‘extremism’ itself. The term ‘extremists’ covers not only terrorists but also some of their radical, but often not (yet) violent supporters who provide assistance and may also pose a threat to democracy.”<sup>20</sup> So what are the policies, programs, and interventions that propose to be effective in countering violent extremism?

Perito and Parvez posit that the solution is to identify extremists before they commit acts of violence using information provided by citizens to the police. “To make this approach work effectively, the police must realize the importance of working with citizens. They must also adopt a citizen-oriented approach to policing.”<sup>21</sup> And, community policing is inherently a citizen-oriented approach to policing.

#### COMMUNITY POLICING TO COUNTER VIOLENT EXTREMISM

In August 2014, the US Department of Justice’s Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, the US Department of Homeland Security’s Federal Law Enforcement Training Centers, and the University of Maryland’s National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism hosted a National Summit on Empowering Communities to Prevent Violent Extremism in which practitioners, government officials, and researchers determined that police community cooperation is essential to countering violent extremism. Further, they concluded that it is incumbent upon law enforcement to take the first steps to establish the foundational relationships and programs prerequisite to this effort.<sup>22</sup>

Between 2013 and 2018, I presented a series of international workshops on countering violent extremism that were sponsored by the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) and the Hedayah International Centre of Excellence for Countering Violent Extremism. The workshops provided participants an opportunity to examine best practices and mechanisms to establish cooperation between the police and the public, particularly as they relate to countering violent extremism. The

---

20. Schmid, “Promising Response.”

21. Robert Perito and Toriq Parvez, “A Counterterrorism Role for Pakistan’s Police Stations” (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2014), 5. <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR351-A-Counterterrorism-Role-for-Pakistan's-Police-Stations.pdf>.

22. Steven Weine and Wilham Braniff, “Empowering Communities to Prevent Violent Extremism,” in *The Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism*, ed. Gary LaFree and Joshua D. Freilich (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 449–467.

purpose of the workshops was to understand more completely how community policing can be a useful strategy for countering violent extremism. Participants represented countries dealing with the challenges of extremism and terrorism, including Nigeria, Pakistan, Qatar, Jordan, Northern Ireland, Japan, Morocco, Somalia, Kenya, Tunisia, and others. They worked together to identify and mitigate challenges to community partnerships using examples from their own countries.

Several objectives related to community policing as a means for countering violent extremism were presented:

**Building Community Trust**—They agreed that community policing serves as a means to build trust and mutual respect between communities and law enforcement. It engages the community in a proactive as opposed to reactive way. It also encourages community involvement to solve problems and formulate security goals.

**Information and Warning Signs**—The community policing model encourages a more open, reliable, and mutual flow of information between the public and the police. This information may help identify early signs of radicalization that leads to violence or other risky behavior. Community policing ensures that police become an integral part of the communities in which they work, which allows them to be receptors for community intelligence, and, therefore, they can provide better security against both crime and violent extremism.

**Preventing Violent Extremism**—Community policing also involves preventing and controlling violent extremism in three ways that are dependent upon supportive relationships between the police and the public: (1) taking preemptive action against violent extremists based upon information provided by the public, (2) investigating and arresting potential terrorists for commission of often petty crimes committed in the preparation for future attacks, and (3) protecting vulnerable people and places on the basis of assessments arrived at with public assistance of likely targets for attack.<sup>23</sup>

In addition, the Organization for Security and Co-operating in Europe reports that “there has been a growing recognition that the broader public and individual communities are stakeholders and partners in countering terrorism, rather than simply the passive object of law

---

23. Hedayah, “Community Policing to Counter Violent Extremism,” Abu Dhabi, UAE, 2013.

enforcement activities.”<sup>24</sup> Local police also have a critical role to play working with local communities to increase their resilience to violent extremism and supporting individuals at risk of violent extremism.

Clarke and Newman point out that one of the key outcomes of community policing is that the police are more apt to “talk regularly and informally with key members of the community”. Doing so creates opportunities to earn the trust of communities and potentially obtain vital information valuable in counter-terrorism efforts.<sup>25</sup> In their subsequent guide on policing terrorism, Newman and Clarke suggest that with the potential loss of life and injuries that can result from a terrorist attack, citizens may be more apt to pass on information about suspicious activity than they are for conventional crime. They also suggest that information gathering through community policing has many advantages over traditional intelligence-gathering methodologies.<sup>26</sup>

Additionally, by implementing appropriate communication techniques, officers and others involved in community policing are able to gather support for their cause and potentially get those being radicalized to question the motives behind the actions of their group. When the police engage with the community under a community policing paradigm, a primary focus is to uncover community concerns about crime and security and to build public confidence. As a consequence, community policing holds the potential to generate useful yet voluntarily provided intelligence from those communities. Using this approach, officers can gather intelligence through citizens’ trust instead of using covert methods that can undermine trust.<sup>27</sup>

It is also important to engage the youth in any meaningful counter extremism effort. Kundnani identifies specific examples whereby community policing can provide opportunities for positive interaction with the youth, getting young people to contribute to society and engage on

---

24. Organization for Security and Co-operating in Europe (OSCE), *Preventing Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization that Lead to Terrorism: A Community-Policing Approach* (Vienna: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2014), 20.

25. Ronald V. Clarke and Graeme R. Newman, “Police and the Prevention of Terrorism,” *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice* 1, no. 1 (2007): 9–20. <https://academic.oup.com/policing/article-abstract/1/1/9/1533918?redirectedFrom=fulltext>.

26. Graeme R. Newman and Ronald V. Clarke, *Policing Terrorism: An Executive’s Guide* (Collingdale: DIANE Publishing, 2010), 80.

27. OSCE, *Preventing Terrorism*, 82–84.

a political level and providing a space for them to express their genuine opinions about the issues in government. Doing so will help young people feel empowered to continue their activities in helping their communities.<sup>28</sup> Including youth is one of the features of community policing that makes it a potentially valuable tool, as it focuses on bringing key players together, thereby creating a safe haven—especially for the youth. Through community policing programs, “police officers can provide sports coaching, fitness training, art, and other youth-focused activities as means of initiating contact, creating a platform for regular interaction and promoting peaceful modes of expression.”<sup>29</sup>

It should be noted, however, that not all researchers agree that community policing is the answer for countering violent extremism. In Bayley’s book on international police reform, he warned that consultation between the police and the public may be seen as “a thinly disguised mechanism for spying and surveillance, especially in countries with authoritarian traditions.”<sup>30</sup> In their paper on the challenges of community policing to prevent violent extremism, Schanzer et al. recounted from Muslim American focus groups that Muslims feared police outreach and that engagement through community policing efforts were just a cover for conducting surveillance on Muslim communities and individuals. Relations with police suffered when the community believed it was being subjected to blanket surveillance instead of being treated by the same standards as other communities. Other concerns noted by the focus groups included the concern that broader community public safety fears are not typically treated as a high priority by police even though the police ask for their cooperation in countering violent extremism.<sup>31</sup> These expressed concerns undercut two primary motivations behind community policing: (1) to improve relations between the police and the community and (2) to work jointly to identify, prioritize, and solve

---

28. Arun Kundnani, *Spooked! How Not to Prevent Violent Extremism* (London: Institute of Race Relations, 2009). <http://s3-eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/wpmedia.outlandish.com/irr/2017/04/26154810/spooked.pdf>.

29. OSCE, *Preventing Terrorism*, 138.

30. David H. Bayley, *Changing the Guard: Developing Democratic Police Abroad* (New York: Oxford University, 2006).

31. David Schanzer, Charles Kurzman, Jessica Toliver, and Elizabeth Miller, “The Challenge and Promise of Using Community Policing Strategies to Prevent Violent Extremism: A Call for Community Partnerships with Law Enforcement to Enhance Public Safety, Final Report” (Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, 2016), 25–30.

---

community problems. An additional challenge identified by Schanzer et al. was that community outreach efforts to counter violent extremism require a significant amount of time and resources for which there are competing programs. The patience and support required for these slow-developing community outreach programs are difficult to sustain.

#### CONCLUSION

Community policing is in no way a panacea for countering violent extremism. However, adopting the community policing ethos promotes collaboration between police and communities to solve problems that threaten the public safety. By doing so, communities' trust in the police is increased, allowing them to work more closely with police to build resilience against extremism and identify visible threats to public safety.







## THE REVOLUTION IN US FOREIGN POLICY: TRUMAN AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY ACT OF 1947

---

*Andre Jones*

### SUMMARY

After World War II, the United States (US) became the most powerful nation on earth, leading Congress to pass a document so monumental that it has affected nearly every US foreign policy decision since its legislative birth: The National Security Act of 1947 (NSA'47). This act created the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the National Security Council (NSC), the Department of Defense (DoD), and many other national security institutions. The changes gave considerable autonomy to military leaders in the field and executive power to the president through the appointments of the Secretary of Defense, Director of Central Intelligence, etc. This keystone legislation was created during a unique period in US history, which aligned the stars for a law that has not seen one that can compare in magnitude since that time.

President Harry Truman's administration and the Secretaries of the Army and Navy played a large role in shaping the national security reform of NSA'47. A monumental change to US foreign policy-making was the displacement of the State Department as the lead agency atop the Washington policy-making pyramid. The president also had challenges from Congress regarding the new intelligence collection reform and the creation of the CIA. The final formative factor of the foreign policy change—and most important innovation of NSA'47—was the creation of the NSC. The system was created to prevent more “Pearl Harbors” by improving civilian-military coordination. Over time, the council evolved and became the organization needed to carry the demands of the Cold War on intelligence and military operations. With the recent victory over Nazi Germany and Japan, the American public's focus slowly shifted toward national security, preparing the public for

the stalemate with Soviet Russia while receiving help from NSA'47 and its primary founders.

In an effort to explain how NSA'47 has been a force of change and continuity to US foreign policy, this paper examines the imperative for passing the act, the domestic and political contexts that contributed to its passing, how it has prepared America for Soviet containment, and whether this marked the beginning of a militarization of US foreign policy. Wartime experimentation had led policymakers to believe that a change was needed in the armed forces and the national security system. With the emergence of containment theory, it was apparent that America was prepared for a hot war instead of a cold war. This paper will explore the unique circumstances that made NSA'47 possible, focusing on the aftermath of WWII and the change in priority from national interest to national security.

This paper will draw upon primary sources ranging from Congressional records to Truman's addresses to Congress, which includes the American Presidency Project. To understand the context of the national security reforms, this paper will touch on primary sources before and during WWII to examine some of the first arguments for and against a stronger national security apparatus. Because there were roughly three years of debates prior to the passing of NSA'47, it will also analyze documents from both the Roosevelt and Truman administrations and their key input in the process. Then, an inspection on how these policymakers' changes crafted what would become the national security framework of the Cold War and post-Cold War eras will be carried out. A critical document that will be referenced in this work is President Truman's 1945 address to Congress concerning the creation of a Department of National Defense, which would combine the War and Navy Departments. Finally, the most important document will be the National Security Act itself. In consultation with specific secondary sources, an in-depth analysis of how this document affected the next 70 years of US foreign policy will be performed.

#### BACKGROUND AND WHY NSA'47 WAS NEEDED

World War II gave America a terrific strategy and terrific tragedy when it came to US military engagements. This was conceivably the beginning of a new surge of militarization in US foreign policy that

lawmakers in 1941 argued would be necessary to win the war.<sup>1</sup> This new foreign policy would continue after the war as a preliminary to the Pax Americana.

December 7, 1941: Lieutenant Colonel Phil Rasmussen awoke in the barracks to the sound of Japanese airplanes bombing the US runways. Jumping out of bed, pajamas still on, he only had time to strap his pistol onto his side and run out to his plane. To his dismay, most of the planes were destroyed. However, Rasmussen was able to find a plane and proceeded to heroically engage eleven enemy aircraft in the battle of Pearl Harbor.<sup>2</sup> Earlier that week, members of the senior Army Intelligence staff ordered aircraft on the island to be arranged wing-tip to wing-tip. This was done to foil saboteurs from damaging the planes before they could go defend what Army Intelligence thought would be an attack in the South Pacific. The day of the attack, both the Army and the Navy coordinated poorly, not reporting a scouting Japanese aircraft back to the base and not informing the lead Admiral about a Japanese submarine that sank an hour prior to the attack.<sup>3</sup>

These mistakes resulted in a crushing defeat, one that would set off a policy chain reaction that would lead to the national security reform in 1947. Ivo Daalder, a senior foreign policy adviser to President Barack Obama, said of this chain reaction that strategic surprise at Pearl Harbor and subsequent military operations in WWII revealed significant flaws in the national security machinery stemming from the lack of unified command in Washington and the field, and that [Franklin Delano] “Roosevelt’s ‘intimate, personalized, ad hoc, disorderly’ [pattern] of World War II decision making had ‘caused great pain at the Pentagon and State [Department].’”<sup>4</sup> The quotation from Daalder clearly outlines the first key element of NSA’47: WWII uncovered the need for change in the military and intelligence apparatus of the United States. Some policymakers, such as Senator Harry S. Truman, had been deliberating about the need for change since the start of the war. Truman grew up

---

1. Pendleton Herring, *The Impact of War: Our American Democracy Under Arm* (New York: Farrar and Rinehold, 1941), 243.

2. “Lt. Phillip Rasmussen and his P-36A,” *National Museum of the US Air Force*, 29 April 2015.

3. “Lt. Phillip Rasmussen,” *National Museum*.

4. Ivo H. Daalder and I. M. Destler, *In the Shadow of the Oval Office: Profiles of the National Security Advisers and the Presidents They Served—From JFK to George W. Bush* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 4.

too poor to afford college and was rejected from West Point Military Academy because of his poor eyesight, but this did not stop his military aspirations.<sup>5</sup> He eventually joined the military and moved swiftly through the ranks, becoming well known for his ability to save money in leadership positions, saving a camp store more than \$10,000 in six months.<sup>6</sup>

This would not be the last time Harry S. Truman would be known for budget cuts and military reform advocacy. In 1944, the second-term Senator Harry S. Truman wrote an article titled, "Our Armed Forces Must Be Unified," to galvanize the public to unify the Navy and War Departments.<sup>7</sup> He had spent the last four years of his time in the Senate visiting a multitude of military bases while serving as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. With the experience he gained from the position, Senator Truman must have gained insight into the struggles of the armed forces at home and abroad. He also wanted to cut costs and waste when it came to reforming military bases around the United States, a feat he accomplished, which landed him on the cover of an issue of *Time* magazine titled "Investigator Truman."<sup>8</sup>

On January 20, 1945, Truman became vice president; on April 12, 1945, after Roosevelt's death from a cerebral hemorrhage, Truman became president. When Truman asked Eleanor Roosevelt if he could do anything for her, she responded: "Is there anything we can do for *you*? For you are the one in trouble now!"<sup>9</sup> Now in the commander in chief's seat, Truman prepared to support the military and intelligence reform (though few wonder if he knew at the time how monumental the reforms would be). On December 19 of that same year, President Truman gave a special message to Congress on military reform.<sup>10</sup> He

---

5. Alonzo L. Hamby, *Man of the People: A Life of Harry S. Truman* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 17–18.

6. William J. Gilwee and Great War Society, "Capt. Harry Truman, Artilleryman and Future President," *Doughboy Center: The Story of the American Expeditionary Forces*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20080614200949/http://www.worldwar1.com/dbc/truman.htm>.

7. Harry S. Truman, "Our Armed Forces Must Be Unified," *Collier's Magazine*, 26 August 1944: 16, 63, 64.

8. "Time Magazine Cover Featuring Harry S. Truman," *Time Magazine*, March 1943. [https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/image/Truman-HarryS\\_TimeCover.htm](https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/image/Truman-HarryS_TimeCover.htm).

9. Steve Neal, "Eleanor and Harry: The Correspondence of Eleanor Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman," *Truman Library*. <https://www.trumanlibrary.org/eleanor/>.

10. Harry S. Truman, "Special Message to the Congress Recommending the

gave nine reasons why the Navy and the Army should be combined, in addition to why this direction was needed. According to Truman, “We did not have that kind of direction when we were attacked four years ago—and we certainly paid a high price for not having it.”<sup>11</sup>

Truman called for four unique reforms during this speech. The first was a unified command and a Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), like the one that had functioned as an experiment during the war and had contributed to the success of the US military. He argued that “had we not early in the war adopted this principle of a unified command for operations, our efforts, no matter how heroic, might have failed.”<sup>12</sup> Second, he suggested a third branch of the military in addition to the Army and the Navy to enact a “parity for air power,” as he called it. His speech outlines that this could be done in one department, but not two, thus a third branch should be created: the Air Force. Third, he suggested the president to rely on “coordination upon civilian hands at the Cabinet level,” or, as they are known today, the Secretary of Defense.<sup>13</sup> Finally, the last third of his address mirrored perspective of the “investigator Truman,” whom everyone had known in the Senate, which was to be fiscally smart by applying “the most effective and the most economical kind of structure for our armed forces of which this most powerful Nation is capable.”<sup>14</sup>

The military reform debate continued for two more years. During that time there were battles in the Washington policy apparatus over what this reform would look like. According to some scholars, “there is still no comprehensive account of the battles that culminated in the passage of the 1947 National Security Act.”<sup>15</sup> While this paper will not be able to dive into the details of these elusive discussions, it is important

---

Establishment of a Department of National Defense,” The American Presidency Project. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/229834>.

11. Truman, “Special Message.”

12. Truman, “Special Message.”

13. Truman, “Special Message.”

14. Truman, “Special Message.”

15. Douglas T. Stuart, “Ministry of Fear: The 1947 National Security Act in Historical and Institutional Context,” *International Studies Perspectives* 4, no. 3, (August 2003), 293–313. doi:10.1111/1528-3577.403006. [Note: This would be an interesting research project. After spending hours searching through Congressional records, minutes from the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees, and the Declassified Document Reference system, I would agree, for now, that the records of these years of debate remain elusive.]

to note the length of time between Truman's address to Congress in 1945 on military reform and the passing of the act in 1947.

Before continuing to the domestic and military politics involved, it is important to keep in mind the overall purpose of NSA'47. Section II of NSA'47 states the act is to set up a program

to provide for the establishment of . . . departments, agencies, and functions of the Government relating to the national security; to provide a Department of Defense, including the three Departments of the Army, the Navy (including . . . the United States Marine Corps), and the Air Force under the direction, authority and control of the Secretary of Defense.<sup>16</sup>

Unlike the battles against Japan in the South Pacific, in which the Navy and the Army pursued separate invasion strategies, policymakers claimed this reform would better organize the military branches and centralize power where it was needed. But before accomplishing this, they would have to appease both the Army and the Navy as well as the public, which was carefully watching.

#### DOMESTIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

To understand what Truman and his aides were trying to accomplish with NSA'47, it is important to acknowledge conditions at home and abroad. In 1947, two major events were happening in US foreign affairs: the Truman Doctrine and his speech to Congress asking for aid to prevent Turkey and Greece from falling into Communist control, and the Marshall Plan, which gave 12 billion dollars in aid to Western European countries that were economically crippled after WWII. Both were part of the Truman Doctrine in combating Communism.

Of the factors that made the passage of NSA'47 possible, the post-WWII climate was likely the biggest. The United States was officially the most powerful country in the world following the demonstration of the atomic bomb, or as Secretary of War Henry Stimson called it, "the most terrible weapon ever known in human history."<sup>17</sup>

---

16. *National Security Act of 1947*, July 26, 1947. <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/1947-07-26.pdf>.

17. Thomas G. Paterson, "On Every Front," in *The Cold War in Europe: Era of a Divided Continent*, 2nd ed., ed. Charles S. Maier (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1996), 3–17.

Domestically, Truman was preparing to run for his second election (his first campaign running as president) and his approval rating stood at a dangerously low 36 percent.<sup>18</sup> Most of the public had already accepted that it was impossible for Truman to win. Because the popular Dwight D. Eisenhower refused the Democratic ticket, Truman was able to make a stunning comeback and win the 1948 presidential election. Congress was at odds with newly re-elected President Truman in a tense situation. When NSA'47 was brought to Congress to be passed, it was given a critical eye. Many members of Congress criticized how the reform would concentrate power in the military. Additionally, the most scrutinized section of the bill was the intelligence reform section, where Congress "eventually debated almost every word".<sup>19</sup> The Truman Library contains a document describing the political scene at home as "one unholy confusing cacophony."<sup>20</sup> The document also notes a list of Truman's advisers who were "politically harmful," which included George Keenan and one "Mr. Forrestal," the Secretary of the Navy who fought against Truman's military reform to combine the Navy into the Army.

Unlike many battles fought over laws passed, the most interesting part of this debate happened on the base rather than in the Congress. During the post-war push for military reform, the departments of the Army and the Navy clashed. In Douglas Stuart's article, "Ministry of Fear," he describes the Army's campaign for reforms as one focused on inefficiencies that created a misallocation of taxpayer dollars in the defense budget.<sup>21</sup> Though the Army's noble goal seemed to be greater efficiency, Stuart says there was evidence that their motivation may have been to avoid the post-war budget cuts to land forces. The Navy, on the other hand, seriously opposed the unification proposed by the Army, "which they saw as a direct attack on the navy's traditions of

---

18 Brian Burns, *Harry S. Truman: His Life and Times*, ed. Donna Martin (Kansas City: Kansas City Star Books, 2003), 137.

19 "A Look Back . . . The National Security Act of 1947," Central Intelligence Agency, News and Information. <https://www.cia.gov/news-information/featured-story-archive/2008-featured-story-archive/national-security-act-of-1947.html>.

20. "Foot-Notes on the Opportunites of the White House in the Political Battles of 1948," Harry S. Truman Presidential Library & Museum. [https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/1948campaign/large/docs/documents/index.php?documentid=6-13&pagenumber=1](https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/1948campaign/large/docs/documents/index.php?documentid=6-13&pagenumber=1).

21. Stuart, "Ministry of Fear," 296–297.



autonomy and self-reliance.”<sup>22</sup> It was quite a conflict, so much so that after the Japanese surrendered, General of the Army George Marshall reported how the Japanese threat gave the Navy and the Army a reason to unite and fight the Axis powers instead of themselves.<sup>23</sup>

During this conflict, Secretary of the Navy Forrestal (mentioned above) realized he was losing on the political and policy battlefronts, so he enlisted the help of his friend Ferdinand Eberstadt to create a comprehensive study that would save the Navy by pointing the reform in a different direction.<sup>24</sup> This study of both bureaucracies within the two departments would then be presented to a special committee that would decide the fate of the military reform of NSA’47. This gave Forrestal the ammunition necessary to push for better Army–Navy *coordination* instead of *unification*. To the dismay of both the Army and the Navy, a third option was considered instead: to establish a third branch of the military called the Air Force. In addition to proposing the Air Force, Eberstadt suggested that a senior civilian position be created to manage the three services’ interaction with each other. This new position would eventually go to Forrestal, who would become the United States’ first Secretary of Defense.

However, Eberstadt went above and beyond the call of duty and provided a report that covered issues with military coordination, intelligence collection, the civilian-military nexus, and other improvements to the US defense complex.<sup>25</sup> The outcome of this report laid a critical foundation for what would become the National Security Act in 1947.

#### PREPARING AMERICA FOR SOVIET CONTAINMENT

The Eberstadt Report also suggested a reform to the United States’ intelligence operations that aligned with Truman’s secondary goal of NSA’47. Truman wanted to rethink security and intelligence collection abroad. During the War, FDR had focused on security at home, which included avoiding sabotage and preparing for air raids. He was known to have a gas mask in case of emergencies that hung off his wheelchair,

22. Stuart, “Ministry of Fear,” 296.

23. Frederick R. Barkley, “Marshall Urges Unified War Arm,” *New York Times*, October 19, 1945.

24. Ferdinand Eberstadt, *Unification of the War and Navy Departments and Postwar Organization for National Security: Report to Hon. James Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy*, (Washington: US Govt. Printing Office, 1945).

25. Eberstadt, “Unification of the War.”

and he rode around in an augmented armored limousine that had once belonged to the crime lord Al Capone.<sup>26</sup> After the war ended, Truman was president, and the White House began to plan how they would convince the American people to accept intelligence reforms and improvements. To do this, he applied lessons learned from the war.

World War II was full of military experiments designed to combat new threats and technology. At the start of the conflict in 1941, FDR tasked William Donovan with creating a new agency that reflected the British Intelligence Agency MI6.<sup>27</sup> This agency would become the new Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the forerunner to the CIA.

The OSS worked with another experimental organization, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which provided intelligence and strategic and actionable information. During the war, foreign intelligence collection had been split unevenly between the OSS and FBI. In addition, the Army and Navy each had their own code-breaker departments.<sup>28</sup>

At the conclusion of the war, Truman announced in his military reform speech: “We must assume, further, that another war would strike much more suddenly than the last, and that it would strike directly at the United States. We cannot expect to be given the opportunity again to experiment in organization and in ways of teamwork while the fighting proceeds.”<sup>29</sup> Truman was determined to be prepared for the next war that would be fought; it was to be a cold war with a recent ally: the Soviet Union.

Truman and his staff thought that having an intelligence apparatus serving outside US borders would best fit under one roof with the Department of State. After he tasked Secretary of State Acheson to combine OSS and State, there was an outcry in Washington. Foreign Services Officers complained about having their budgets drastically cut to support a new intelligence arm for the State Department. They feared that the culture, which had been cultivated in the State Department since the time of Thomas Jefferson, would be disrupted by 1,300 former OSS agents instantly combining with diplomats.<sup>30</sup>

26. David Brinkley, *Washington Goes to War* (New York: Knopf, 1988), 96.

27. William Samuel Stephenson, ed., *British Security Coordination: The Secret History of British Intelligence in the Americas*, (London: Fromm Intl, 1999), 27–28.

28. Stephen Bediansky, *Battle of Wits: The Complete Story of Codebreaking in World War II* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).

29. Truman, “Special Message.”

30. Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department* (New

Outside of Washington, the public was also wary about some aspects of intelligence reform. Coming out of a long war that had been waged against totalitarian dictators, they were understandably worried about the creation of a police-like state. During the bill's passage in 1947, the Truman administration was able to alleviate this concern to Congress by proposing a new agency called the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and have its authorized mission focus on foreign intelligence, not domestic intelligence, like that of a totalitarian regime. After many revisions and discussions in Congress, the National Security Act was passed, creating the new Central Intelligence Agency.

#### A MILITARIZATION OF US FOREIGN POLICY

The final aspect of this monumental reform was its enduring effect on US foreign policy and national security. Scholars who have looked back on the legacy of NSA'47 have found that this law elevated the importance of the military and intelligence communities above the State Department and the United States' diplomacy efforts. Former US Ambassador to Afghanistan Karl Eikenberry noted this militarization through the United States' history of deployments: "There have been over 330 such deployments since 1798, although about half of these were after World War II when the United States had become a superpower with global security interests."<sup>31</sup>

Following WWII, NSA'47 was a large piece of the hegemonic puzzle that the United States was beginning to construct for itself. There was a noticeable difference between the number of men and women serving in military and intelligence careers versus those in the foreign service or State Department. Former Secretary of Defense Robert Gates quoted former Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice, saying the military's marching bands have more personnel than the Department of State's Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) do.<sup>32</sup>

With the creation of a National Security Council and the Secretary of Defense, the State Department's influence became greatly dimin-

---

York: WW Norton, 1969), 158–161.

31. Karl W. Eikenberry, "The Militarization of US Foreign Policy," *American Foreign Policy Interests: The Journal of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy* 35, no. 1, (2013): 1–8.

32. Walter Pincus, "Vast Number of Military Bands May Not Be Music to Gates' Ears," *The Washington Post*, August 2010. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/08/23/AR2010082304711.html>.

ished over time, and both would later be replaced by the position of National Security Advisor under President Richard M. Nixon.<sup>33</sup>

Ambassador Karl W. Eikenberry's article covers four possible reasons why the militarized shift happened in United States foreign policy. First, since the changes in world politics following WWII, the military has become "the most cost-effective instrument" of American power abroad. Second, given the existence of a complex world of state actors, terrorists and cyber attacks, an organized military response has become an easier strategic option. Third, Eikenberry notes that the transition from the "draft" model to the voluntary one for military recruitment has somewhat severed the connection between normal citizens and national security personnel, allowing decision makers to send troops into battle with limited pushback compared to earlier times; and fourth, there has been a weakened oversight on the expanding military's influence in foreign affairs.<sup>34</sup>

Since NSA'47, these effects have slowly permeated the national security arena, which, when combined with great funding, has caused the Department of Defense to cultivate a better relationship with the media, Congress, and various think tanks and companies. The connection between the changes caused by NSA'47 and this militarization of foreign policy is not a strong link on its own, but it can partially explain (and give foundation to) how the United States' defense-focused national security came to be.

## CONCLUSION

The passage of the 1947 National Security Act was a remarkable event, and some wonder whether those who aided its creation really knew how groundbreaking it was. To hammer home how tough it would have been to attempt this reform at any other time, Ambassador Elizabeth McKune and her fellow scholars put it this way: "Between 1921 and 1945, 50 bills had been introduced into Congress to reorganize the War and Navy Departments. None was successful in being enacted into law."<sup>35</sup>

---

33. Robert Z. George and Harvey Rishikof, eds., *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2011), 32.

34. Eikenberry, "Militarization of US," 3–5.

35. Alan G. Whittaker, Frederick C. Smith, and Elizabeth McKune, *The National Security Policy Process: The National Security Council and The Interagency System*, October 8, 2010, 78. <https://www.hsd.org/?view&did=690866>.

The main points of reflection that are gleaned from the research regarding the legacy of NSA'47 point toward a change in US foreign policy rather than continuity. First, the history of the act, stemming from the mistakes that were made at Pearl Harbor and continuing through Truman's 1945 speech on military reform explain why NSA'47 was initiated after the war. However, the continuity that can be seen here is that the United States has always adapted to new technology and threats since the days of the Founding Fathers.

Second, the military debates and commissions that contributed to the grand change that was happening with the US defense structure had not been attempted before (at that scale) in American history.

Third, Truman was balancing criticism from Congress on the intelligence reform half of the bill, while trying to put out fires from the Army and Navy on their side of the bill. The military debate resulted in the Eberstadt report, which provided a foundation for NSA'47. All of this was done during the Marshall Plan's economic reconstruction in Europe and a re-election year for Truman.

Fourth, the White House's larger strategy was based on the Truman Doctrine and on Soviet containment. The Truman administration saw a paradigm shift when it came to focusing on intelligence and security efforts abroad with the creation of the CIA. Douglas Stuart called the strategy "a postwar national consensus on the need for a completely new approach to US foreign policy, which would accord priority to the concept of national security rather than the traditional concept of national interest."<sup>36</sup> In extending American intelligence operations and military combatant commanders to every part of the globe, the modification of the US security apparatus marked a significant change in American foreign policy.

Finally, one of the largest evidences of the foreign policy change was the militarization of US foreign policy, which the State Department witnessed before their eyes during 1947. Ambassador Eikenberry can attest to one great example from a fellow ambassador: "If I want a meeting with the head of state of the country to which I am assigned, I give the regional US combatant commander a call."<sup>37</sup>

---

36. Douglas Stuart, "The National Security Act of 1947," *Oxford Bibliographies*, October 25, 2012. <http://www.oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0102.xml>.

37. Eikenberry, "Militarization of US," 2–3.

---

## THE ENDURING LEGACY OF NSA'47 TODAY

In its legacy, the National Security Act exhibits both elements of change and continuity today. The Truman administration's use of Pearl Harbor as an analogy helped to pass reform;<sup>38</sup> it is comparable to what happened after 9/11. Following the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Centers, the George W. Bush administration utilized the opportunity to create a larger security and surveillance system, including the creation of the Department of Homeland Security in 2002.

After reviewing all of the experiments with the military and intelligence services during the war, as well as the Eberstadt Report and its findings, one can see how NSA'47 was crafted to help the United States to fill its new global role that it was stepping into post WWII. In the aftermath of NSA'47, there was the creation of the National Security Agency, followed by the blueprint for Cold War militarization: NSC-68. Autonomy for the departments over the next 40 years after this compromise between the Army and the Navy was a key factor in the ways that NSA'47 changed foreign policy. This level of autonomy also came with its share of coordination challenges, which can be seen during the Vietnam War and other conflicts; thus, the Goldwater–Nichols Act in 1986 was passed to address this not-so-optimal coordination between the services, and it would give more power to the Joint Chiefs of Staff over this matter.

Today the National Security Act continues to work to prevent future “Pearl Harbors,” and, looking back, one can see how much it has shaped US foreign policy since its inception. It marked a great change in American priority from the zeitgeist of national interest to an era of national security, a change that has continued until modern time. Moving forward, the American public can hopefully learn from the past to prepare for reforms one day in the future.

---

38. Eikenberry, “The Militarization of US,” 1–8.





## THE STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE

---

*Mark Driggs*

China made waves in 2013 when it unveiled the One Belt One Road Initiative, later renamed The Belt and Road Initiative<sup>1</sup> (BRI). With an estimated cost in the trillions, this ambitious project is intended to connect China to the supercontinent of Eurasia, parts of Europe and Africa, and further connect it to South East Asia.<sup>2</sup> To accomplish this, an overland economic belt and a 21st-century Maritime Silk Road (MSR) will connect states and people to China and bring desired infrastructure to those regions.<sup>3</sup> Despite Chinese efforts, the BRI has run into some challenges, which would be expected from an initiative of this size. In Pakistan, the site of the Chinese–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a Chinese consulate in the previous Pakistani capital Karachi was attacked by militants aiming to derail CPEC.<sup>4</sup> Earlier this year, Pakistan requested a bailout from the International Monetary Fund amid concerns that Pakistan could no longer sustain its debt.<sup>5</sup> Some countries,

---

1. Wade Shepard, “Beijing to the World: Don’t Call the Belt and Road Initiative OBOR,” *Forbes Magazine*, August 1, 2017. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/wadeshepard/2017/08/01/beijing-to-the-world-please-stop-saying-obor/#1f06f39e17d4>.

2. Jonathan E. Hillman, “How Big Is China’s Belt and Road?” *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, April 3, 2018. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/how-big-chinas-belt-and-road>.

3. National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), *Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road*, People’s Republic of China, March 28, 2015. [http://en.ndrc.gov.cn/newsrelease/201503/t20150330\\_669367.html](http://en.ndrc.gov.cn/newsrelease/201503/t20150330_669367.html).

4. Saeed Shah and Eva Dou, “Militants Attack Chinese Consulate in Pakistan,” *Wall Street Journal*, November 23, 2018. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/militants-attack-chinese-consulate-in-pakistan-1542957610?mod=searchresults&page=1&pos=11>.

5. Saeed Shah, “Pakistan Requests IMF Bailout Talks—2nd Update,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 8, 2018. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/pakistan-to-hold-bailout-talks-with-imf-1539018792>.



such as Malaysia, are beginning to push back against the BRI as concerns grow that Chinese loans will lead to unsustainable debt.<sup>6</sup> Questions have also been raised regarding the viability and coordination of the BRI up to this point, with arguments being made that the BRI is not as organized as China would have the world to believe.<sup>7</sup> Despite these challenges, it is important to remember that the BRI will continue to ebb and flow over decades. Despite existing and potential challenges, China remains committed to its long-term investment. In order to understand China's commitment to launching the BRI, its dedication must be viewed under the strategic framework of ends, ways, and means.

In 2013, President Xi Jinping promised "to achieve the Chinese dream of great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation."<sup>8</sup> This promise has since guided all Chinese strategy to reach that desired end. The BRI is so important that the Chinese Communist Party added it to their charter in late 2017,<sup>9</sup> signaling that the BRI is of continuous importance. As the BRI has progressed, it has become apparent that its completion is intended to place China at the top of the international order. It is an initiative that utilizes all the instruments of national power as outlined under the Diplomatic, Information, Military, and Economic (DIME) model. The use of DIME means a stronger and more effective BRI that will benefit China. As a result, it is important to break down how DIME has been integrated into the BRI by going through each instrument and identifying its role in the broader context of the BRI.

China has portrayed the BRI as a multilateral project that will bring economic prosperity and closer diplomatic and cultural ties to all who

6. Han Wong Chun, "Malaysia Can't Afford \$22 Billion Beijing-Backed Projects, Mahathir Tells China; the Malaysian Prime Minister Plans to Defer or Cancel the Infrastructure Projects," *Wall Street Journal*, August 21, 2018. [https://www.wsj.com/articles/malaysia-cant-afford-22-billion-beijing-backed-projects-mahathir-tells-china-1534850997?mod=article\\_inline](https://www.wsj.com/articles/malaysia-cant-afford-22-billion-beijing-backed-projects-mahathir-tells-china-1534850997?mod=article_inline).

7. Jonathan E. Hillman, "China's Belt and Road Is Full of Holes." Center for Strategic and International Studies, September 4, 2018. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/chinas-belt-and-road-full-holes>.

8. Fred Hiatt, "Xi Jinping's 'Chinese Dream' and the Rule of Law," *The Washington Post*, June 2, 2013. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/xi-jinpings-chinese-dream-and-the-rule-of-law/2013/06/02/7b9a8c28-c95f-11e2-8da7-d274bc611a47\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.863588149246](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/xi-jinpings-chinese-dream-and-the-rule-of-law/2013/06/02/7b9a8c28-c95f-11e2-8da7-d274bc611a47_story.html?utm_term=.863588149246).

9. Brenda Goh, "Pressure on as Xi's 'Belt and Road' Enshrined in Chinese Party Charter," Reuters, October 24, 2017. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-congress-silkroad/pressure-on-as-xis-belt-and-road-enshrined-in-chinese-party-charter-idUSKBN1CT1IW>.

are involved. Many states have accepted an invitation to join this seemingly multilateral initiative.

However, since the initiative began, China has revealed its intention to use the BRI to further its national interests, often at the expense of other participant states' interests. Sri Lanka demonstrated this in 2017 when, in order to alleviate some of their debt to China, it signed over the Hambantota port to China, giving 85% ownership of the port to China Merchants Port.<sup>10</sup> Once promised to be an economic boon to the Sri Lankan economy, the loss of the port now serves as a cautionary tale of China's use of debt-trap diplomacy within the BRI to further its national interests.

As China continues to offer developmental loans through the BRI to participant states, the risk of debt-trap diplomacy will continue to increase as developing states with fragile economies find it increasingly difficult to repay loans. A handful of states in the Indo-Pacific have announced the creation of a regional fund for infrastructure development projects in order to reduce reliance on China.<sup>11</sup>

However, without additional alternatives, states will likely continue to borrow from China regardless of the cost, perpetually increasing Chinese diplomatic leverage. If China wishes to foster its diplomatic gains, it must make sure it can effectively defend the BRI against scrutiny over the validity of its self-proclaimed multilateralism and paint a picture of inclusiveness in the public and private sectors.

China has also sought to use information to garner international support for the BRI. They have done this through cultural exchanges,<sup>12</sup> public events such as fashion shows,<sup>13</sup> and statements outlining the

---

10. Maria Abi-habib, "How China Got Sri Lanka to Cough Up a Port," *The New York Times*, June 25, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/25/world/asia/china-sri-lanka-port.html>.

11. Yukako Ono, "Thailand Plans Regional Infrastructure Fund to Reduce China Dependence," *Nikkei Asian Review*, June 4, 2018. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-Relations/Thailand-plans-regional-infrastructure-fund-to-reduce-China-dependence>.

12. National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), *Vision and Actions*, December 2, 2018. [http://en.ndrc.gov.cn/newsrelease/201503/t20150330\\_669367.html](http://en.ndrc.gov.cn/newsrelease/201503/t20150330_669367.html).

13. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "Belt and Road," International Young Fashion Designers Showcase Tour Successfully Held in Reykjavik. *People's Republic of China*, July 10, 2018. [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjb\\_663304/zwjg\\_665342/zwbd\\_665378/t1575384.shtml](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjb_663304/zwjg_665342/zwbd_665378/t1575384.shtml).

Chinese commitment to an ecologically sound BRI.<sup>14</sup> These tactics also allow China to send a message to the public and private sectors that the BRI is a welcoming initiative to benefit all involved. Use of information is an instrument of national power that China will likely continue to use to shape public perception of the BRI. Information use offers a low-cost, high-impact means of helping China maintain strong support for the BRI, allowing China to shape the global narrative of what the BRI is and why states should support it. These means could include information campaigns, information exchanges between governments, translucent negotiations, and use of media networks. Control of information will also be needed to draw attention away from military drivers and alleviate any potential fear of a militarization of the BRI.

Military drivers have pushed the BRI forward for years. The People's Liberation Army (PLA) is currently undergoing a massive modernization effort with the intention to become a modern military by 2035 and a world-class military by 2049.<sup>15</sup> The BRI has the potential to provide resources to the PLA's programs as it strengthens China's Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Moving beyond increased resources, the BRI is currently initiating the construction of dual-use facilities in strategic locations, such as the Indian Ocean.<sup>16</sup> These installations will afford China the opportunity to conduct peacetime operations throughout the area. The installations will also demonstrate that China is making progress in developing a blue-water navy capable of operating beyond the Chinese mainland and allowing the country better project power. Having the ability to effectively and efficiently convey power is particularly important in the Indian Ocean, where China is reliant on sea lines of communication for energy imports.<sup>17</sup>

---

14. The National Development and Reform Commission and the State Oceanic Administration, "Vision for Maritime Cooperation Under the Belt and Road Initiative, People's Republic of China," 2017. <https://www.yidaiyilu.gov.cn/wcm.files/upload/CMSydylgw/201706/201706200153032.pdf>.

15. US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *2018 Annual Report to Congress* (US Government Publishing Office, 2018). [https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/annual\\_reports/2018%20Annual%20Report%20to%20Congress.pdf](https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/annual_reports/2018%20Annual%20Report%20to%20Congress.pdf).

16. Zack Cooper, "Security Implications of China's Military Presence in the Indian Ocean," Center for Strategic and International Studies, April 2, 2018. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/security-implications-chinas-military-presence-indian-ocean>.

17. Office of the Secretary of Defense. *2018 China Military Power Report*, US Department of Defense, 2018. <https://media.defense.gov/2018/Aug/16/>

Chinese power projection capabilities are relatively nascent. However, as the BRI progresses, so too will their power projection. China will then be able to advance their influence in various regions and provide a security component for their overseas interests. These improvements stand to have a direct impact on the United States as the upgrades will help China compete militarily in regions of strategic interest. While military benefits may not be the primary reason for the BRI, the benefits that are planned for the PLA are not a coincidence. China's ability to maintain an economy that can finance both the BRI and a growing PLA will be a determinant in whether the PLA is one of the BRI's primary beneficiaries.

China's economy continues to grow, yet its development has begun to slow. In fact, economic stagnation has been a primary driver of the BRI. China hopes to strengthen their trade and increase foreign investment as the BRI builds infrastructure networks across continents that, in theory, will open new markets for Chinese goods.<sup>18</sup> Doing so will strengthen the role economics play in furthering China's strategic interests while solidifying China's growing dominance in the Indo-Pacific. China already uses tools such as trade and loans for strategic means, and the BRI will simply enhance these instruments. China will be able to increase states' dependency on trade as the BRI increases. For example, China will be able to flood markets with goods, as it has already in states such as Pakistan, causing them financial hardship.

As China continues to investigate diversifying their energy imports, the BRI has become the platform it uses to do so. In Myanmar, the Kyaukpyu Port is being built to improve access to the Chinese mainland and circumvent the Strait of Malacca,<sup>19</sup> through which approximately 80% of Chinese oil imports currently pass.<sup>20</sup> While this is just one example, it underscores China's desire to strengthen their energy security through diversifying energy imports. These factors lead to a stronger economy, which will mean a stronger and more confident China. While the United States could benefit from a stronger Chinese economy, it risks doing so at the cost of a more assertive China who will not be

---

2001955282/-1/-1/1/2018-CHINA-MILITARY-POWER-REPORT.PDF

18. US-China Economic and Security Review Commission, *2018 Annual Report*.

19. Gregory B. Poling, "Kyaukpyu: Connecting China to the Indian Ocean," Center for Strategic and International Studies, April 2, 2018. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/kyaukpyu-connecting-china-indian-ocean>.

20. Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Power Report*.

hesitant to blend its economy with other instruments of power. The line between economic and geostrategic forces is becoming increasingly blurred. A more assertive China could come at the expense of United States partners and allies.

The sheer scope of the BRI means that it will inevitably have an impact on US partners and allies in and around the Indo–Pacific. So, the question is not whether the BRI affect US partners and allies, but *how* will the BRI affect them? As it stands, the BRI will weaken US partners and allies because it allows China to monopolize infrastructure development, make use of coercive economics, increase PLA force projection throughout the Indo–Pacific, and counter US interests. Unfortunately, several Indo–Pacific countries have largely remained quiet, refusing to challenge the BRI despite the lopsidedness of the initiative. Since many neighboring countries lack the means to challenge the BRI, this is to be expected. However, a handful have raised concerns, and others have declined Chinese invitations to join the BRI. In 2017, India boycotted the Belt and Road Forum and voiced strong disapproval of the Chinese initiative because of territorial and sovereignty concerns.<sup>21</sup> India has also accused China of using debt-trap diplomacy to further the BRI’s objectives.<sup>22</sup> Despite India’s actions, they remain in the minority. Without a strong center of gravity, US partners and allies will likely acquiesce to Chinese demands within the BRI. US leadership could provide the foundation needed to encourage concerned Indo–Pacific states to take action.

China can use the BRI in its current state to challenge US strategy in three fundamental ways: challenging US promotion of prosperity, questioning US influence, and achieving and maintaining dominance of the Indo–Pacific. The first two methods directly contradict pillars two and four of the 2017 US National Security Strategy, while the third counters US desires of a “free and open Indo–Pacific.”<sup>23</sup> The United States’ complacency as the BRI advances will undermine US strategy.

---

21. Soyen Park and Ramandeep Singh, “Why India Boycotted the Belt and Road Forum,” East Asia Forum, Crawford School of Public Policy, June 13, 2017. <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2017/06/13/why-india-boycotted-the-belt-and-road-forum/>.

22. Park and Singh, “Why India Boycotted.”

23. National Security Council, National Security Strategy of the United States of America, Executive Office of the President, 2017. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905-2.pdf>.

The BRI is still in the beginning of its implementation, and the United States would do well to develop a strategic response. If the nation hopes to maintain a strong presence in the Indo–Pacific, they must respond. The United States has a variety of methods and means available to offer a firm response to China’s expansion through the BRI. A US response should work to preserve an Indo–Pacific that is not dominated by China. It should look beyond the Indo–Pacific to countries, such as Pakistan, which are also being threatened by debt-trap diplomacy. The United States should not seek to challenge the BRI unilaterally; a multilateral approach should be crafted instead. Coalitions are already in place, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, that the United States could use to offer a multilateral response.

One of China’s greatest present advantages is that few alternatives to its lending programs exist. The United States needs to offer infrastructure development aid to other Indo–Pacific countries to provide an alternative to China. An example of US aid is the Better Utilization of Investments Leading to Development Act of 2018.<sup>24</sup> While this Act is a start, the United States must expand the scope of these investments in infrastructure development aid if it hopes to compete with China’s lending programs. As the United States finds ways to offer this type of aid, it will decrease the number of states that are dependent on China while increasing its own influence. Economic aid packages could be offered unilaterally, multilaterally, or through an organization such as the International Monetary Fund.

Pakistan will be a key state in any US effort to offer infrastructure development alternatives to the BRI. The CPEC has become the flagship project of the BRI, and China hopes to illustrate the benefit of partnering with them.<sup>25</sup> If the United States could convince Pakistan to accept alternative infrastructure development aid, then they could discredit the BRI and force China to rethink its approach. A partnership with Pakistan will require the United States to strengthen its weak relationship with the country and look past some of their grievances with Islamabad.

---

24. Senate Foreign Relations and Bob Corker, *BUILD Act of 2018*. United States Congress, 2018. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/115th-congress/senate-bill/2463/text>.

25. Jeremy Page and Saeed Shah, “China’s Global Building Spree Runs into Trouble in Pakistan,” *Wall Street Journal*, July 22, 2018. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/chinas-global-building-spree-runs-into-trouble-in-pakistan-1532280460>.

Because of China's willingness to offer quick, easy loans to build the BRI, the United States will need to work to convince states that its aid is more beneficial than aid from China, regardless of whether they accept US aid. The United States should aggressively push the results of Sri Lanka's involvement in the BRI to demonstrate the dangers of continual acceptance of Chinese loans. The loss of Sri Lanka's port can form the bedrock of a Belt and Road Initiative counter-narrative that illustrates that the BRI is not about building a continent-spanning trade network that is beneficial to all involved; rather, the BRI is about fulfilling Chinese ends, ways, and means. The new counter-narrative can be delivered through the media, grassroots movements, and alliances with states that have already expressed concerns over the BRI, such as India. As the United States works to shape perceptions of the BRI, they can weaken China's hold in the Indo-Pacific.

The BRI will continue unabated without intervention from the United States. If the BRI does so, the United States will find its influence in the Indo-Pacific severely weakened and challenged across the globe. China will be in a position where it can promulgate a Chinese-led economic order that leaves the United States trailing behind. The good news is that the BRI is just leaving its infancy, which means it can be effectively countered or shaped by US influence. The bad news is that the United States continues to delay its development and implementation of a response. It is easy to overlook the BRI because it is silently progressing, but to do so would be a mistake. As the BRI progresses, so will Chinese power and influence, which may diminish the US influence across the Indo-Pacific. The United States' current dominance should not be taken for granted; it is time for the United States to shed its complacency and take action against the Belt and Road Initiative.



## THE KURDISH EXPERIENCE: THEIR STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

---

*Baillie Sigman*

Independence for Kurdistan in the Middle East has been a point of conflict since World War I and the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Numbering roughly 35 million, the Kurds are the largest nation without their own independent state,<sup>1</sup> and they have consistently fought for their own sovereignty. Examining their struggle for an independent status helps us to see their situation and understand the current situation within the Middle East. Through researching the region, I have identified three key factors that contribute to the failure of an independent Kurdish state, including the division of the Kurds across states and the internal conflict amongst themselves, oppressive rule and regimes, and, lastly, a lack of a self-sustaining economy and political strength to govern itself. My purpose of my work is to show how each of these areas has affected the failed establishment of an independent Kurdistan and to evaluate the possible outcomes of peace for the Kurdish people.

The Kurds have lived within the region for thousands of years and have been subject to various empires and nations through conquest. However, regardless of conquest and the interval spent under Ottoman rule they, along with other groups in the Middle East, were not confined within borders. After WWI, Kurdistan was erased from world maps by western powers as they carved up the Middle East, a territory that was viewed as the spoils of war. Great Britain and France, through the Sykes–Picot Agreement, changed the structure of the Middle East and created borders, establishing entirely new states. Now spread throughout Turkey, Syria, Iran, and Iraq, the Kurdish people have become divided and subjugated to their neighboring nations. This is the

1. Rodi Hevian, “Home,” Rubin Center for Research in International Affairs, August 19, 2013. <http://www.rubincenter.org/2013/08/the-main-Kurdish-political-parties-in-iran-iraq-syria-and-turkey-a-research-guide/>.



first contributing factor that weakens the national strength and identity of the Kurdish nation.

As a result of this separation, different groups and political parties have been established throughout the region. Though Kurdish communities have maintained some shared sense of nationalism,<sup>2</sup> each community or group has been shaped and affected by the political and social spheres within each state. The Kurds have worked and struggled to keep their traditions, culture, and language intact, but they have also found an identity in being Iranian, Syrian, Iraqi, or Turkish. Within each of these communities, shaped by their own situation and experiences, political groups have developed and become highly influential. These groups each have competing interests and characteristics of their own, which have caused internal conflict and debate.

Among the various groups, I have found three major parties who are most influential and powerful within the region: the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) in Iraq, Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) in Turkey, and the Democratic Union Party (PYD/YPG) in Syria. Each group has focused on their own agendas within their own states and has also established ties across their borders into neighboring states. The desire for control and influence throughout the entire region is cause for tension between the rival party leaders.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, each group has a different focus on their fight for freedom. The KDP has obtained autonomy in northern Iraq, and is pushing to create its own independent state. The PKK in Turkey has a long brutal history with Turkey in its fight for an independent state as well; however, in recent events, they have changed their goals as they continue to work with Turkey and are now fighting for an autonomous Kurdish self-rule within the nation of Turkey. The PYD/YPG is also seeking an autonomous self-governance in a federalist state with Syria, rather than an independent state. Each faction has been influenced by and are products of their own experiences within their own political and social circumstances.

The division among the Kurds, both geographically and politically,

---

2. Denise Natali, *The Kurds and the State: Evolving National Identity in Iraq, Turkey, and Iran* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007).

3. Zeynep Kaya and Matthew Whiting, "Sowing Division: Kurds in the Syrian War," *Middle East Policy Council* XXIV, no. 1 (Spring 2017). <https://www.mepec.org/journal/sowing-division-Kurds-syrian-war>.

has suppressed the opportunity for a pan-Kurdish unity. Subsequently, the struggles these factions endured have had an immense influence on their current characteristics, goals, and actions. The devastation of political oppression, loss of life, and lack of civil rights and equality has continuously pushed back against Kurdish organizations, but the challenges have not completely diminished the Kurdish spirit.

Towards the end of WWI, before the Sykes–Picot Agreement was enacted, the Kurds had discussed having an independent nation or autonomy with self-governance and rights. They were promised these rights during negotiations; however, they were not provided them. In Turkey, Mustafa Kemal, the father of Turkey, helped to westernize and create a democratic state. He implemented many changes to the state and focused on creating a national identity and unity. He was convinced that to forge a Turkish nation, it was absolutely vital to assimilate the Kurds.<sup>4</sup> He was also strict in enacting policies to westernize and create a secular nation. Mustafa Kemal’s decree in March 1924 enacted forced assimilation, resulting in a ban on the use of Kurdish language and schools, forced relocation from their homes to non-Kurdish regions within Turkey, restriction of any “ethnic organizations,” and violent response to any revolts.

As these restrictions and bans were being implemented, Kurdish nationalist groups began to rebel and seized control of territories in the eastern region of Turkey. About 80,000 Turkish militants were deployed, and the Kurdish revolt was quelled in mid-April of 1925. Leaders of the revolt were taken prisoner and later hanged for their crimes. Others had fled to Iraq and Iran, and thousands of villages were burned and people massacred.<sup>5</sup> Kurds were continuously executed or sentenced to prison for attempting to create an independent Kurdistan. And, if that were not enough, in an attempt to decrease the population growth of the Kurds, massive deportation movements uprooted tens of thousands of Kurds, many of whom died.

In Syria, the Kurds faced social, cultural, and political discrimination. They were not given Syrian citizenship, and, therefore, were not granted any rights, nor were they recognized by the government. Their

---

4. Natali, *The Kurds and the State*.

5. Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou, *A People without a Country: The Kurds and Kurdistan*, trans. Michael Pallis, ed. Gerard Chaliand. (Brooklyn: Olive Branch Press, 1993), 52–53.

land was constantly “nationalized” and given to Arabs for farming. The Kurdish people were uprooted and forced to move and relocate. They were often subject to regular raids, harassment, and confiscation by the government and police. However, the situation in Syria was not as explosive as it was in the other regions. Syrian Kurds remained more quiet than their kinsman due in large part to their smaller numbers, a lack of focal centers of Kurdish tribal life, or traditional community on the same scale of other Kurds.<sup>6</sup> For these main reasons they were not as influential nor were they that large of a threat to Syria compared to the Kurds in Turkey, Iran, and Iraq.

Iranian Kurds experienced similar decrees to those of Turkey, as Reza Shah shadowed Mustafa Kemal’s westernization. The state’s cultural framing presented the fiction of an Iranian identity.<sup>7</sup> For example, the Kurdish dialects were forbidden in public, education, and press. Kurdish schools were also shut down and the term “Kurds” was no longer used but rather “mountain Iranians” to describe the Kurdish people. The forced assimilation resulted in a few violent reactions, but any revolts or uprisings were quickly shut down.

After WWII, the Allied powers and the Soviet Union invaded Iran, which resulted in the forced abdication of Reza Shah to his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, who was more cooperative with the Allied forces. The Kurds, through the support of the Soviet Union, were able to establish an independent state and the political party Komala, which was reorganized and replaced by KDP. The Republic of Mahabad was established January 2, 1946, and was short lived. The republic was weak both in government and in military strength. They relied on the Soviet Union for support, but as the Russians pulled out of Iran, the new Iranian government entered into the republic and shut them down in the fall of 1946. Following the fall of the republic, the KDP leaders were imprisoned or executed. The Kurdish community was now more strictly controlled and watched over by the military and security. Kurds were no longer recognized by the government and rights were taken away.

In Iraq, the Kurds fought against the Iraqi government from the fall of the Ottoman Empire to the fall of Saddam Hussein’s regime. A

---

6. Wadie Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement: Its Origins and Development* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 144.

7. David Romano, *The Kurdish Nationalist Movement: Opportunity, Mobilization and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 224.

series of wars and negotiations resulted in rising conflict between the different political leaders of Iraq and Kurdish nationalists. The situation became increasingly heated with the rise of the Baathist Party.

Under the regime of Saddam Hussein, we saw the most brutal oppression and acts of terror during the genocidal eight-month campaign of Al-Anfal, which was comprised of aerial bombing, systematic destruction of settlements, mass deportation, firing squads, and chemical warfare. The operation was carried out in four phases. Chemical weapons comprised of mustard gas and nerve gas were released on civilians and militant groups daily. Mass air raids and ground assaults resulted in destroyed villages and agricultural areas. Civilians were killed, thousands were made refugees, while others were captured and subjected to mass executions, torture, concentration camps, and imprisonment.<sup>8</sup> In an interview from 1996 in London, a girl by the name of Sirwa shared her own experience:

I heard the sound of planes approaching. At almost the same moment, the bathroom adjoining the garden was struck by a bomb from above. Our neighbors across the street had a shelter. We went straight there. . . . Suddenly we began to smell something very peculiar, rather like household gas. Soon it began to affect our breathing. I had heard that Saddam had used chemicals in Karadagh not far from Halabja. . . . We decided to try to escape from this shelter. . . . Outside everything had been transformed. . . . People were running through the streets, coughing, desperately. I too kept my eyes and mouth covered with a wet cloth and ran in the direction of a shelter we knew. . . . A little further on we saw an old woman who already lay dead. . . . Her face was waxen and white foam bubbled from the side of her mouth.<sup>9</sup>

Although the actions taken against the Kurds were clearly wrong, we need to understand first that, similar to the case with the Kurds, there are many sub-groups and nations that have been mixed together to form the countries of the Middle East. Reviewing the regimes and political power in each country, we can see their efforts in attempting to unify and control the regions. Turkey and Iran, as newly formed independent states, are promoting a new sense of national identity. The

---

8. Ghassemlou, 225.

9. Susan Meiselas, "Interview with Sirwa, living in England, by Sheri Laizer," *Kurdistan in the Shadow of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 317.

regimes in Syria and Iraq are consolidating power and seizing control of their regions. If the Kurds do rise, if they are successful in a national movement, and if they secede from these regions, then other groups would follow.

For this reason, the Kurds pose a large threat to the stability of each governing power and state to keep their nations in check and in control. As a result, Syria, Turkey, and Iraq seek to make an example of the Kurds to control other minorities in the Middle East; all nationalist movements are crushed and kept in check. Furthermore, by examining these events, we can see how the Kurds in Turkey and Syria, who have been politically oppressed each time they attempt to rebel, prefer to chose autonomy within a federalist system, whereas the Kurds in Iraq and Iran, who have been subject to the atrocities of Saddam Hussein and received little assistance from western powers, would feel the urge to break away from their states and govern themselves.

The final issue for an independent Kurdistan is the lack of economic and political strength to sustain a nation. The opportunity for the Kurds to establish a republic in Iran was due in large part to Soviet support and the decline in Iranian politics. However, when the Soviet Union withdrew support from Iran, the Kurds no longer had the military strength to protect themselves and secure political stability. In an interview, one Kurdish fighter, Hajek Muhammed, recounted: "We expected the Mahabad Republic to expand to all of Kurdistan. We didn't think the Russians would betray us. Our choices were to stay in Iran and surrender, go to Iraq to fight or surrender, or go to Turkey and be executed."<sup>10</sup>

It was clear that the Kurds would need support, and international powers were not interested in supporting or setting up a new Kurdistan state because there was no gain or profit to the region. Additionally, the Kurds had no uniformity across borders, no military strength, and no political powers. Without a stable government and economy, a nation cannot stand on its own. This has slowly changed over time within Iraq.

Due to the gross number of human rights violations and the continued growth of power, Saddam Hussein became a person of interest to western powers. They intervened, and in the process backed Iraqi Kurds in opposition and rebellion to Saddam Hussein. The Iraqi Kurds

---

10. Susan Meiselas, "Interview with Hajek Muhammed, Iraqi Kurd living in Iran, by Andrew Whitley," *Kurdistan in the Shadow of History*, 244.

fleeing to the northern borders and seeking refuge in Turkey were met with a denial of entry. As a result, the United States created a safe haven in northern Iraq with the support of Great Britain and France. Conveniently, the United States was able to protect its ally, Turkey, from any backlash for closing its borders and to provide relief to the Iraqi refugees.

Western powers intervened because of their fear that the Kurds' flight to other countries would threaten "international peace and security in the region."<sup>11</sup> They inserted themselves under the UN Security Council Resolution No. 688, recognizing the suffrage of Iraqi Kurds under Hussein's regime. The United States did not, however, create a separate "homeland" for the Kurds. Rather, the coalition agreed to protect the region while fighting against Saddam Hussein and establishing a centralized government in Iraq. Western powers still encouraged the Kurds to work together with the newly formed Iraqi government for autonomy rather than secession.

The decline and instability of the Iraqi government has allowed the Kurds to steadily build up their region. The Iraqi Kurds have been able to create a Kurdish state and are still pushing for independence regardless of western influence. They have increased their territory and have a political system in place, as well as an army. They do not, however, have an established economy.

The only functioning resources the Kurds have are oil reserves in the Kirkuk region, which they took over from the Iraqi government. The pipeline used to export the oil goes directly through Turkey. If the pipeline were shut off, they would have no way to export the oil productively. All other goods are imported from other nations, and they do not have any kind of financial sector in place, not to mention their region is landlocked and they would not be able to import or export goods without having to go through other nations. They do, however, have land for agriculture and could potentially increase their trade and production for the region, but it would take time to establish. Without a self-sufficient economy, an independent Kurdistan would be weak.

The Kurdish people have endured so much conflict and turmoil while the political parties have been on the move and in survival mode

---

11. UN Security Council, Resolution No. 688. 2 (1991). <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/596/24/IMG/NR059624.pdf?OpenElement>.

for decades. The Kurds finally have a small hold in northern Iraq; however, today they are still a divided people who have different ideas regarding how to end their suffering and obtain freedom. As a result, the probability that these separate groups will come together with a single priority is highly unlikely.

I would argue that, first, in order for Kurdistan to reach a complete state of independence peacefully, it would take a minimum of another 15–20 years, assuming they can accomplish autonomy in their regions. Second, in an autonomous state, their politics and governments can become established, and their focus can be directed to their individual economies. Building an economy to support their state and establish trade and revenue will be a major stepping stone. Third, a shared and agreeable form of unity must exist between the states. Each individual Kurdish state would have to negotiate and be willing to give up some power for the greater good and development of the Nation. Lastly, there must be international recognition and support for an independent state. Michael van Bruinessen wrote in 2007:

The international community is unlikely to recognize an independent Kurdish state any time soon as the Iraqi Kurdish leaders are well aware. The current form of federalism, with a strong Kurdish regional administration and an ineffective central government almost amounts to independence.<sup>12</sup>

Eleven years later, we are still in the same circumstances. Turkey, Syria, and Iran are not particularly supportive of the Kurdish developments in Iraq. As mentioned earlier, it threatens a revived interest in Kurdish identity within their own states. I believe it will be a very long road to a complete independence for a Kurdish state.

My conclusion is that the division of the Kurdish people, as a direct result of western influence via the Sykes–Picot Agreement, is the primary driving force for the political and internal conflict between Kurdish groups today, and for the oppression and suffrage they have endured. Additionally, the conflicts and experiences of the Kurdish people have significantly shaped the individual groups and their ideologies; this has resulted in the failure of Kurdish unity and identity as a whole nation. Furthermore, the fragmentation has led to a stalemate in establishing an independent Kurdistan, which they have sought since the fall of the Ottoman Empire a century ago.

---

12. Meiselas, 386.



## HOW THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS CAN BE USED TO COMBAT TERRORISM IN IRAQ

---

*Emma Warner*

Iraq, since its origin, has been a unique place with a rich, complex, and sometimes violent history. Iraq's history has played a large role in the many conflicts we see today, including the number of terror attacks that occur within its borders. Since 9/11, Iraq has been in the top five countries to experience terror attacks.<sup>1,2</sup> The question is why? Why is terrorism such a prevalent problem in Iraq? What factors play a significant role in promoting these attacks? What can be done, if anything can be done to mitigate the problem? In this paper I will look at the multiple reasons why Iraq has issues with terrorism as well as possible solutions to prevent future attacks. It is my belief that through promoting and encouraging sustainable development and working together as an international community, it is possible to reduce violent extremism and radicalization in Iraq. The reduction of violent extremism and suppression of the ability terrorists have to attack may stabilize the state of Iraq, and it will be beneficial to not only to the region, but also to the United States (US). The US taking part in the stabilizing of Iraq would start the process of doing preventative measures in combating terrorism and ultimately help the US in the war on terror.

### A HISTORY OF IRAQ

Iraq's origin as a state is not unique in the context of the Middle East. During and after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Britain and France saw their opportunity to take control over territories and resources in

---

1. Max Roser, Mohamed Nagdy, and Hannah Ritchie, "Our World in Data," revised in January 2018. <https://ourworldindata.org/terrorism>.

2. "Global Terrorism Index 2017," Institute of Economics and Peace. <http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2017.pdf>.



the Middle East. This was accomplished through a number of secret agreements, most notably the Sykes–Picot agreement of 1916.<sup>3</sup> In this agreement, Britain and France were making plans to divide up the territory. The areas discussed in this agreement would become what we know today as Iraq, Jordan, Israel-Palestine, and Syria.

Once World War 1 was officially over and the League of Nations was established, Britain and France put their secret agreements into action; the agreements became known as mandates.<sup>4</sup> The concept of mandates was put forth as a way to promote democracy and to help citizens of the former Ottoman Empire establish states with the help of a “mentor” nation. In actuality, the mandates were just a cheap mask for colonialism. With the power of the mandates, Britain set about establishing their new territories, including Iraq.

The Mandate of Iraq involved the unique combination of people, with one part being Kurdish, another Sunni Muslims, and the last group Shia Muslims.<sup>5</sup> Under the Ottoman Empire these people lived in relative peace. However, once Iraq became a new territory, the conflicts between these people escalated. The British decided to keep in place several of the old rulers from the Ottoman Empire days; they were primarily Sunni Muslims, who, at the time, made up less than 20% of the Iraqi population. The preference given to them by the British set the new mandate on a course for conflict, as it allowed for favoritism, and the leaders began to prohibit others from participating in the new government.<sup>6</sup> As a result, resistance movements and rebellions arose. These movements lasted for about two years and were met with a strong military response from the British. In an effort to resolve these issues with several of the British Mandates, Winston Churchill organized the Cairo conference in 1921; at that conference it was decided that Amir Faisal would be the king of Iraq.<sup>7</sup>

King Faisal’s reign was filled with violence and turmoil. Many groups began revolting, most notably the Kurds. Many people were unhappy

---

3. “The Avalon Project,” Yale Law School, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/sykes.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/sykes.asp).

4. “Office of the Historian,” The State Department of The United States. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1919Parisv13/ch10subch1>.

5. Charles Tripp, *The History of Iraq* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 30–31.

6. Tripp, *The History of Iraq*.

7. “Cairo Conference (1921),” Encyclopedia.com. <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/modern-europe/wars-and-battles/cairo-conference>.

with how things in Iraq were going under British rule, and, conversely, the situation was far from ideal for the British. In 1932 Iraq was made an official member of the League of Nations, and, therefore, Britain tried to establish normal state-to-state relations with Iraq.<sup>8</sup> According to the agreement made by the League of Nations regarding the establishment of mandates states, “In the event of Iraq being admitted to the League of Nations, the obligations hereby assumed by His Britannic Majesty’s government shall terminate.”<sup>9</sup>

Preparing for Iraq’s admittance to the League of Nations, Britain began negotiating what would become known as the Anglo–Iraqi Treaty of Alliance of 1930.<sup>10</sup> The treaty had several stipulations that benefited the British and impeded Iraq’s future success as a state. The strictures were placed because the British would soon lose control over Iraq and the resource benefits the British had been receiving. Since Iraq achieved independence from the British, Iraq has had a violent history of coups, revolutions, and dictatorial regimes.<sup>11</sup>

#### THE CURRENT SITUATION

Iraq today is not dissimilar from its past, in that many groups are still trying to gain control and influence over the state, making Iraq first among the nations most subject to terror attacks, primarily instigated in the battle with ISIL.<sup>12</sup> While the number of terror attacks in the world has decreased since the 2017 expulsion of the Islamic State (IS) from Syria, worldwide attacks have dropped by 40%, much of it in Iraq; however, Iraq and the Middle East still have the highest levels of terrorist attacks in the world.<sup>13</sup>

The question to be asked is why this is still the case. What makes Iraq so susceptible to terrorists? What circumstances make violent acts

---

8. “Cairo Conference.”

9. Luther Harris Evans, “The Emancipation of Iraq from the Mandates System,” *The American Political Science Review* 26 no. 6 (1932): 1024–1049.

10. Evans, “Emancipation of Iraq.”

11. “Iraq Profile—Timeline,” BBC News, October 3, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14546763>.

12. “Global Terrorism Index 2017: Measuring and Understanding the Impact of Terrorism,” Institute for Economics and Peace. <http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2017/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2017.pdf>, 10.

13. Luis Romero, “Terror Attacks in the Middle East and North Africa Fell by Almost 40% Last Year,” Quartz, August, 9, 2018. <https://qz.com/1352602/terror-attacks-in-the-mideast-and-north-africa-fell-by-almost-40-in-2017/>.

appear as a necessity and therefore enable terrorists to succeed in their attacks? The reasons to stage an attack are as numerous as there are terrorists; however, a few key contributing factors have been identified. Iraq's history since the United States invasion of 2003 shows that Iraq has gone through major changes in a relatively short time. With the removal of Saddam Hussein, Iraq went from being a dictatorship to a democracy. In the history of Iraq, the country had never had any kind of government similar to a democracy. The significant change in how the government operates has led many different groups to compete for power.<sup>14</sup> These groups include Sunni, Shia, Kurds, and, most recently, Jihadi Salafi, which is a movement similar to ISIS, in that its goal is to establish an Islamic State. The power struggle, combined with the lack of a respected and a thoroughly established political system, has laid the foundation for terrorism to spread in Iraq.<sup>15</sup>

People join terrorist groups for both social and political aspects. In my experience and research, I have found that most people want to live out their lives in peace. In most situations, so long as their needs are taken care of, then people will most likely try their best to have peaceful and quiet lives. However, if their needs are not being met, then people will do most anything to meet those needs, including participation in violent acts and extremism. In my opinion, the needs that are most important for people to obtain, in order to prevent violence, are access to clean water, work that is sustainable and reliable, and the ability to participate in politics in a peaceful way. Then people have little reason to use violence as a means to meet their basic needs; this is contingent, however, upon whether the government provides peaceful options, and how accessible the options are.<sup>16</sup>

There will always be those who will choose violence as a means to achieve their goals. However, if it is possible to change conditions and circumstances that lead people to commit violence, then their numbers will dwindle and so will their ability to succeed in their attacks.

In researching the circumstances that lead a person to join terrorist groups, I have discovered that social discrimination and persecution are

---

14. Hashem M. Karami, "The Political and Social Roots of Terrorism in Iraq (2003–2017)," College of Basic Education, University of Garmian, Kurdistan Region of Iraq July 2017.

15. Karami, "Political and Social Roots."

16. Deniz Aksoy, "Elections and the Timing of Terrorist Attacks," *The Journal of Politics* 76, no. 4 (2014): 899–913.

large contributing factors. Iraq has high levels of discrimination based on aspects such as whether a person practices Sunni or Shia Islam, is Kurdish, believes in democracy, wants a dictatorship, or is in a minority religious community. These factors all play a role in citizens' ability to participate in society. Studies have shown that areas that have a great deal of ethnic discrimination are more susceptible to terror attacks.<sup>17</sup> Discrimination comes in many varieties, such as exclusion from schools, recreational activities, and, most importantly, religious and political participation. If one ethnic or religious group is favored in politics and further promotes the discrimination/persecution of other groups, then those groups that are discriminated against are more likely to commit terror attacks or join terrorist groups that promise them the freedom and liberation that they seek.<sup>18</sup>

In Iraq, there is tension between the Kurds and the current Sunni leadership, and the Sunni leaders are actively seeking to put down the Kurds. Consequently, the Kurds are currently in conflict with the Iraqi government. In an effort to be free from the discrimination and persecution the Kurds face, the group believes that the only way to achieve full autonomy is to fight against the Iraqi government and work to establish a Kurdish State.<sup>19</sup> This has been an ongoing issue since 2017.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the prevalence of discrimination and persecution, there is a lack of both economic and physical security. The issue of physical security is attributable to the amount of violence that occurs in Iraq. For the past 15 years—from the US invasion to the current civil war and the fighting of ISIS—Iraq has been a battleground. The violence has been widespread, and the people live in a state of constant chaos and fear.<sup>21</sup> To make matters worse, there is a lack of resources for

---

17. Seung-Whan Choi and James A. Piazza, "Ethnic Groups, Political Exclusion and Domestic Terrorism," *Defence and Peace Economics*, 27 no. 1 (2016): 37–63, doi:10.1080/10242694.2014.987579.

18. Wagdy Loza, "The Psychology of Extremism and Terrorism: A Middle Eastern Perspective," *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 12 no. 2 (March–April 2007). <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1359178906000929>.

19. Zack Beauchamp, "Why Iraq and the Kurds Are Fighting Over the City of Kirkuk," *Vox*, October 16, 2017. <https://www.vox.com/world/2017/10/16/16481952/iraq-krq-kirkuk-seize>.

20. Beauchamp, "Why Iraq and the Kurds."

21. Anthony Cordesman, "Tracking the Trends and Numbers: Islam, Terrorism, Stability, Conflict in the Middle East," CSIS, February 15, 2017. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/tracking-trends-and-numbers-islam-terrorism-stability-and-con>

a growing population. These resources include reliable water sources, safe places to live, work, food, access to health care, and basic infrastructure such as roads and bridges.<sup>22</sup>

The people also cannot rely on their government to help curtail the violence and update the crumbling infrastructure because of high levels of corruption in the Iraqi government.<sup>23</sup> In addition to a corrupt government, the current government in Iraq lacks the power and the ability to implement policy because it is not seen as being legitimate by its own people. The government is seen as weak, and, therefore, people find it perfectly acceptable to challenge and defy the government.

The influence of larger powers such as the US and the Soviet Union has helped to cause part of the conflict we see today because they openly supported radical groups, which gained some of the legitimacy that the official government lacks.<sup>24</sup> The overall lack of physical security combined with limited access to basic resources and powerlessness to improve the situation on your own, sparks desperation and makes violence appear necessary for survival.

#### POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS

The problems that plague Iraq are vast, overwhelming, and interconnected. This makes the solving and alleviating problems extremely difficult. However, what has become clear is that military action is not what will help reduce the violence.<sup>25</sup> What I believe will help is a joint effort by the international community in assisting Iraq to achieve the 16 sustainable development goals listed by the United Nations:<sup>26</sup> no poverty; zero hunger; good health and well being; quality education; gender equality; clean water and sanitation; affordable and clean energy; decent work and economic growth; industry innovation and infrastructure; reduced inequalities; sustainable cities and communities; responsible consumption and production; climate action; life below water; life on

22. Cordesman, "Tracking the Trends."

23. Cordesman, "Tracking the Trends."

24. Paul Salem, "The Rise of Transnational Movements in the Middle East: Historical Context, Dynamic Drivers, and Policy Takeaways" Middle East Institute: Counterterrorism Series January 2018. [https://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/publications/PP1\\_Salem\\_CT.pdf](https://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/publications/PP1_Salem_CT.pdf).

25. Salem, "The Rise of Transnational Movements."

26. United Nations, "Sustainable Development Goals," Sustainable Development Goals Knowledge Platform. <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/?menu=1300>.

land; and peace, justice, and strong institutions.<sup>27</sup> Iraq has many problems that can be solved by implementing these goals; the question is where to start.

In February of 2018 the stabilization and rebuilding of Iraq were discussed by representatives from many nations and businesses. The main goal of the meeting was to investigate and address the problem with Iraq's economy and infrastructure, with the hope of determining where to start.

Iraq has repeatedly seen its infrastructure destroyed by the intense violence it has endured. Road and bridges are in shambles, healthcare facilities are few, access to water is difficult, agriculture sites have been ruined, and Iraq's oil sites are in disrepair. The estimate for fixing these issues is around 88 billion dollars,<sup>28</sup> much of which would have to come from foreign assistance. Many of the surrounding Arab states want to help stabilize Iraq; they are motivated to keep their own states from failing as well. One of their first goals will be to rebuild Iraq's infrastructure and get their oil production sites running again. This will help Iraq's economy get back up and provide jobs for its people.<sup>29</sup> If the US decides to participate in the rebuilding of Iraq, it has the potential to help rebuild some of the damage our relationship has sustained since the 2003 invasion. The US also has the resources and expertise to provide unique and effective solutions to the many problems Iraq faces.

Another goal that needs to be taken on is Iraq's ability to conserve and distribute water to its people. Iraq has always had a large issue with water, as it is a desert; 98% of the water they do get comes from the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, and what ground water they do have has been contaminated from overuse to the point that it is no longer usable, making the water they receive from the Tigris and Euphrates all the more important. The problem is that Turkey is upstream of Iraq and controls the water flow and how much water Iraq will get. There has never been a formal agreement between the two States on how much water should be allowed to go to Iraq. However, Turkey has done a good job in making sure Iraq does get some water, until now. Turkey is planning to build a dam in the Euphrates that would significantly

---

27. United Nations, "Sustainable Development Goals."

28. "The Tricky Business of Rebuilding Iraq," Stratfor Worldview, February 13, 2018. <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/iraq-war-rebuild-reconstruction>.

29. "The Tricky Business of Rebuilding Iraq."

diminish Iraq's water supply and potentially cause further violence in the region.<sup>30</sup>

To solve this issue, I propose that a water conservation and distribution plan be developed and put into action. The plan will modeled on plans currently in place in Tajikistan and Utah. Iraq will estimate how much water they will need and put forth the necessary infrastructure to maximize the use of that determined amount. An international team should be formed in order to do the necessary calculations and determine which systems would best work for Iraq.

Once implementation of the plan begins, a third-party nation will facilitate a negotiation between the two states to establish an official treaty stating that Turkey will allow a pre-determined number of gallons of water to flow into Iraq. A water treaty is one way to help solve the problem in a way that will help establish more reliable access to water, which will eliminate one more reason for the Iraqi people to participate in violent extremism.

The United Nations Sustainable Development group is currently working to help solve the problems of poverty in Iraq by ensuring that Iraq has the proper institutional framework to help people get jobs, promote local economies, and ensure equal opportunity for work among all people regardless of ethnicity and religious denomination.<sup>31</sup> They are working in partnership with the government of Iraq, which is putting forth an effort to cut back on the poverty levels through funding received from the US to help the most impoverished regions.<sup>32</sup>

Another of the main goals from the meeting in February was to get Iraq's oil production and development sites back up to speed. This will give the people steady jobs and help Iraq's economy get going again.<sup>33</sup> With people working to rebuild Iraq's infrastructure and earning a livable wage, the perceived need for them to join terrorist groups in order to survive will significantly decline.

---

30. "Iraq's Water Crisis Gives the Public One More Reason to Protest," Stratfor Worldview, July 18, 2018. <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/iraqs-water-crisis-gives-public-one-more-reason-protest>.

31. "In-Depth," UNDP in Iraq. [http://www.iq.undp.org/content/iraq/en/home/ourwork/povertyreduction/in\\_depth.html](http://www.iq.undp.org/content/iraq/en/home/ourwork/povertyreduction/in_depth.html).

32. Yan, ed., "Iraqi Government Launches Social Development Fund to Fight Poverty," XinhuaNet, January 1, 2019. [http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-01/31/c\\_137788005.htm](http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-01/31/c_137788005.htm).

33. "The Tricky Business of Rebuilding Iraq."

As was discussed earlier, one of Iraq's biggest problems that contribute to the violence is the societal and systematic discrimination and persecution of people. This is also a problem the United Nations is working to combat; however, their focus is on gender equality in Iraq. The number of women in public office has decreased by 55% since 2003, which means the representation of women in Iraqi politics and women's influence on policies has also diminished, leading to further inequalities between the genders.<sup>34</sup>

In Iraq, gender discrimination is rampant, as is ethnic discrimination and persecution of religious and ethnic groups that do not have equal representation in government. The issue of discrimination is a deep seeded one. Many factions have formed within Iraq, each representing a specific group, and the groups often have competing agendas that render progress for the whole state impossible.<sup>35</sup> However, Iraq has managed to stay together despite the many forces trying to pull it apart. Given their divisions, their success in this endeavor is quite amazing and mysterious. What this tells me is that despite the long history of discrimination and fighting with one another, there might still be some hope in establishing true equality in Iraq.

## THE US

While the problems to help stabilize Iraq are vast, complicated, and expensive, I believe that Iraq presents a great opportunity for the US to assist in many of the ways discussed above. The US has the resources and expertise in many of the issues and may provide unique and effective solutions to the issues Iraq faces. In the event that the US does help with an Iraqi solution, it will allow the US to switch from a reactionary response to terror attacks to a preventative one. Eliminating as many factors that lead people to join terror groups will reduce the number of individuals involved and lessen the ability of particular groups to pull off terrorist attacks. This has been the goal of the US since the War on Terror began.<sup>36</sup>

---

34. "Women Empowerment," UNDP Iraq, 2018. <http://www.iq.undp.org/content/iraq/en/home/ourwork/womenempowerment/overview.html>.

35. Primoz Manfreda, "The Current Situation in Iraq: Iraq is Managing to Stay in One Piece in Spite of Devastating Odds," Thought CO. May 6, 2018. <https://www.thoughtco.com/current-situation-in-iraq-2353055>.

36. Central Intelligence Agency, *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism*, February 2003, 1–2. [https://www.cia.gov/news-information/cia-the-war-on-terrorism/Counter\\_Terrorism\\_Strategy.pdf](https://www.cia.gov/news-information/cia-the-war-on-terrorism/Counter_Terrorism_Strategy.pdf).



The US has developed a sophisticated system of how it handles terrorists and potential attacks that has proven effective in its borders. The US methods include looking at specific terrorist organizations that already exist and are in play, coordinating with other branches of government to share information, and working with the public to create a well-rounded system that can be continuously improved.<sup>37</sup> The main problem with the system is that it is mostly reactionary in nature, meaning that we work to stop things that are already in progress. The terror groups are already formed, and they are working on an attack. We have found success in these kinds of situations, so much so that hearing of an attack in the US from a foreign terror group is a rare event.<sup>38</sup>

Now that we have gotten a handle on attacks that may currently be going on, it is time to switch our focus to true prevention by stopping the groups from organizing, if possible, and then greatly limiting their ability to get followers and member to carry out their acts. To do so, we need to look at the many reasons why individuals join terror groups. I have outlined a few of these factors above.

By working to improve people's circumstances as much as possible, working to eliminate contributing factors that lead to terror organizations being formed, and curbing the groups' ability to grow in strength, we will truly begin to prevent terror attacks from happening.<sup>39</sup> It is important to note that these preventative measures need to be applied to the reactionary measures that are currently going on. The combination of recognizing attacks and preventing them will enhance our ability to fight terrorism more effectively.

The ability to fight terrorism on all fronts, rather than just one, will allow the US to make even greater strides in the War on Terror, which has been going for 18 years. Many good things have been done to limit the impact terrorists have, such as the physical removal of ISIS from Syria in 2017. As is stated on the Department of Homeland Security website, terrorism is a continuously evolving threat that takes advantage of everything it can; this means our responses need to be ever evolving

---

37. Department of Homeland Security, "Preventing Terrorism." <https://www.dhs.gov/topic/preventing-terrorism-overview>.

38. Department of Homeland Security, "Preventing Terrorism."

39. "Shannon N. Green, "Do We Need a New Strategy to Prevent Terrorist Attacks in The United States?" Center for Strategic and International Studies, December 15, 2016. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/do-we-need-new-strategy-prevent-terrorist-attacks-united-states>.

as well.<sup>40</sup> While many battles have been won, the War on Terror is not over, and it is time that we take a look at other methods of preventing terrorism and .

Therefore, having the opportunity to participate in these preventative measures in Iraq is paramount. ISIS may be out of Syria, but their second base is in Iraq, meaning there is an influx of individuals who are in insurgent groups in the area, and they will be looking for recruits. The situation is ripe for Iraqis to be approached to join, and chances are high that they will say yes.

## CONCLUSION

Iraq is a place with a rich culture and complex history, and it presently has major problems with terrorism and violence. Many factors play into why this is. One is that they have had a violent history in which power has mainly been gained through violent acts. From the time of King Faisal until the rise of Saddam Hussein, Iraq experienced great discontent and several violent overthrows of its rulers. When Saddam Hussein was in charge, he maintained the peace by ruling with an iron fist. Through many mistakes and misinterpretations, the United States removed Saddam Hussein and the Ba'ath party from power. This resulted in the drastic change in how their government works, going from a dictatorship to an underdeveloped form of democracy. Once again, there is constant contention between the Iraqi people based on ethnicity and religious practices. Discrimination has led to groups of people being excluded from every aspect of political activity. There is also a lack of physical safety because of the consistency of violence from varying parties and a lack of basic resources, such as water and food. At present, these essential resources can be attained only through more violence and destruction; the government is corrupt and weak, lacking the power to enforce laws and regulations that would help cut down on the violence.

Iraq's issues are significant, complex, and difficult to overcome. By working together, an international community can start the process of stabilizing Iraq, starting by focusing on rebuilding Iraq's infrastructure, focusing on roads, health centers, and oil fields to help stimulate their economy. Iraqis need help getting access to stable water sources through innovative conservation and distribution practices, and by supporting

---

40. Department of Homeland Security, "Preventing Terrorism."

an agreement with Turkey to help ensure that there is a consistent water source. The Iraqi government must also work to reduce poverty through revitalizing their oil fields; well-paying jobs will result and thereby stimulate and improve Iraq's economy, allowing them to invest in long-term projects and get back on their feet. Finally, all this is in addition to promoting political and religious equality. I believe these steps will stabilize the nation and remove many of the incentives terrorists can offer to the people, thereby inhibiting their ability to carry out attacks and grow in number and influence.

Rebuilding Iraq sustainably will be beneficial to the United States in our efforts to combat terrorism worldwide. The United States has been successful in our reactionary measures in preventing terror attacks; this will allow the United States to add truly preventative measures to combating terrorism. Through working to remove the circumstances that motivate individuals to join terror groups, it is possible to truly make an impact on the War on Terror.

Through working to achieve the goals discussed in this paper and continuously implementing sustainable development goals, we, as a world community, can help Iraq stabilize and combat terrorist groups before people are ever approached to join. Goals once met will prove beneficial to our world community as a whole.



## CONTRIBUTORS

---

**Dr. Dan Waddington** has more than 35 years of comprehensive criminal justice experience as a practitioner, mention, consultant, educator, trainer, and analyst both domestically and internationally. He is a recognized expert in the fields of Countering violent Extremism, criminal justice reform, community policing crime and program analysis, and organization development. He has been an advisor and consultant for the Department of Homeland Security, US Department of State, United States Institute of Peace, the Global Counter Terrorism Form, and the International Centre of Excellence for Countering Violent Extremeis. Academically, he has a BS in Justice Administration, a Masters of Public Administration, and a PhD in Criminal Justice.

**Andre Jones** is the founder of the *UVU Journal of National Security*. He graduated from UVU in 2018 with a BA in Political Science and minors in Russian and National Security Studies. During his time at UVU, he served in multiple positions across campus, including on Utah Valley University Student Association (UVUSA) and as a Presidential Intern. Currently, he is a graduate student at American University's School of International Service, studying US Cyber Policy. While working towards his master's degree, he works as a graduate research associate on cybersecurity industry. Andre spends his time outside of school and work reading and participating in cyber-related competitions, listening to cyber podcasts, and going on hikes with his wife.

**Mark Driggs** is from Provo, Utah. He is currently a junior at Utah Valley University, where he is majoring in National Security Studies. Mark has been involved in the National Security Studies program since its inception in 2016. In 2017 he was a part of the inaugural National Security Studies Summer Seminar. Mark's primary regional interest is China, while his primary topical interest is strategy. After completing his undergraduate, Mark hopes to work in an operational capacity for a

few years while pursuing a graduate degree in national security. His long-term goal is to work at the Department of Defense as a policy-maker, specializing in China and strategy.

**Baillie Sigman** is a senior at Utah Valley University pursuing a bachelor's degree in Spanish with minors in National Security Studies and Russian. Baillie has been heavily involved with the Center for National Security Studies, including participation in the annual Summer Seminar in Washington DC, and as a member of the National Security Coordination Committee. She is trilingual, speaking Spanish, English, and Russian. After graduation Baillie plans on pursuing a career in the Intelligence Community as an analyst.

**Emma Warner** grew up in Spanish Fork, Utah, and is a senior at Utah Valley University. She has a great passion for national security matters and for solving world problems; as such, her main focuses of her study have been in these areas. In addition to her studies, she has dedicated her time to promoting the National Security Program here at UVU. This is a wonderful program that gives students the experience and qualifications to do great things in the future. She is currently the Vice President of Logistics in the National Security Society, and she will be interning with the State Department this summer at the Paris Embassy.

**UVU**™ CENTER *for*  
NATIONAL SECURITY  
STUDIES

---

UTAH VALLEY UNIVERSITY