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**The Dragon and the Elephant**

**Bodies in the Mediterranean**

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# Look East

## Japan Sharpens its Swords

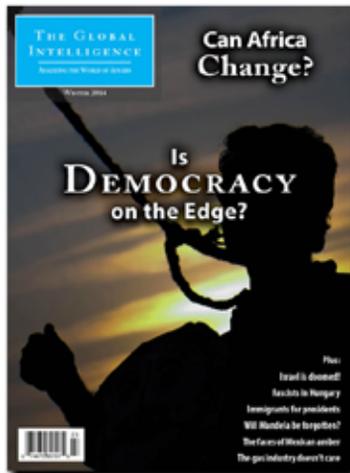
**India-America**  
the **STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP**  
of the **21<sup>st</sup> Century**



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A Standard Missile-3 is launched from the Japanese Aegis Destroyer JS Kongo en route to intercept a target missile launched from the U.S. Pacific Missile Range Facility. (Credit: U.S. Navy)

### Burma Struggles to Stay Afloat

Look east, where warmongering clouds are gathering on the horizon, and both opportunity and strife arise. In this issue, we focus our analysis on the geopolitical currents in Asia.

India and Japan have both responded to China's maritime challenge. New Delhi is increasing its clout in the Indian Ocean, and Tokyo is rebuilding its once-feared intelligence services. But coupled with the newly-built Washington-New Delhi strategic partnership, this could instigate a broader arms race with China in an already tense situation. Meanwhile just across India's borders, ISIS has cast the shadow of its black flag over the troubled regions of South Asia.

Further inland, Burma/Myanmar's fledgling democracy is at risk of drowning. Burma will go to the polls in November this year to elect its replacement for the 69-year-old junta leader Thein Sein, who has held the office of president for almost five years. But no civilian can hope to take full control of the country, since Myanmar's military occupies 25 percent of seats in parliament and retains special veto powers.

In an interview with the BBC, President Thein Sein reiterated that it was the military regime that initiated democratic reforms in the country, but he put no time frame on reducing the military's dominant role in politics.

Myanmar's constitution has been amended several times since the nation's independence from Britain in 1948. The latest amendment was made in 2008, preventing Burmese citizens whose spouse or child is a foreign citizen from holding the office of President. A non-binding referendum will take place this spring to poll voters regarding possible changes to the constitution.

Of the two political contenders for presidential office, military-backed House of Representatives speaker Shwe Mann made a point of reminding the country, however, that any changes to the constitution would not be implemented until after the new President assumes office. That effectively disqualifies his more-popular rival, Aung San Suu Ki of the National League for Democracy, from running, due to her status as a widow and mother of British nationals. The spring referendum may only serve to taunt those voters who want to see the constitution changed in time for her to run in the elections.

Thus either democratic turmoil or further junta influence lies in store for the more than 58 million newly democratic citizens of Myanmar.

A map of geopolitical forces would depict not mountain ranges but currents of tension in an ever-changing ocean—their tides shifting almost every decade. In order to keep our world free and fair for all, we must remain cognizant of newly emerging undertows and vigilant about those regions, like Burma, that find themselves in danger of sinking.

— **Probir Kumar Sarkar**  
Executive Editor

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**EXECUTIVE EDITOR** Probir Kumar Sarkar

**ASSISTANT EDITOR** Benjamin Hayward

**ADVISOR** Yatindra Bhatnagar

**COPY EDITING** Jonathon Macfarlane

**RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS** Alexander H. Maurice, Benjamin Hayward, Dinesh Sharma, Julienne Vipond, Mahendra Ved, Peter Bjel, Ola Wam, Probir K. Sarkar, Rajendra Prabhu, S. Saheb.

THE GLOBAL INTELLIGENCE is published in January (Winter), April (Spring), July (Summer), and October (Autumn) by The Global Intelligence Publications Inc. at 835 Riverside Drive, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, E3A 8R1. Visit us online at [www.theglobalintelligence.com](http://www.theglobalintelligence.com).

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Fredericton, NB, Canada  
E3A 8R1

**POSTMASTER:** Send all address changes to THE GLOBAL INTELLIGENCE, 835 Riverside Drive, Fredericton, NB, Canada, E3A 8R1.

**U.S. MAILING ADDRESS:**

P.O. Box 1593  
39 Court St., STE 9998  
Houlton, ME, 04730, U.S.A.

**U.S. CIRCULATION OFFICE:**

1503 N. NORMANDIE AVE #6  
LOS ANGELES, CA, 90027, U.S.A.

**NEW DELHI OFFICE:**

104 SAVARKAR APT.  
39 IP EXTENSION  
NEW DELHI, 110092, INDIA

**CUSTOMER SERVICE:**

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**ADVERTISING:**

advertising@theglobalintelligence.com  
or call +1.506.800.9931

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ISSN 1929-1981 (Print)  
ISSN 1929-199X (Online)

# The Right to Spy

Japan claims it is recasting its intelligence apparatus to match its current needs

by Probir Kumar Sarkar



**T**HROUGHOUT the Cold War, Tokyo was forced to outsource its overseas spying. Japan's external security was upheld by the United States, and the two nations banded together to keep the Soviet bloc at bay. This arrangement proved fruitful for both parties, as Japan became an important eastern ally of the United States. But the equation of international powers has shifted and Washington's involvement in Japan's defense affairs has diminished over time. Japan is now a major soft power and one of the world's most successful democracies.

Recent problems, including the killing of two Japanese citizens at the hand of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), have increased the demand for Japan to develop its own intelligence service. The beheading of two Japanese nationals in January of this year prompted a public outcry. Tokyo relies mostly on third party intelligence—in this case, from Jordan and Turkey—which left Japan a mute spectator to the horrors. Policymakers are now working heavily on building a spy agency that can cater to their current needs and become an integral part of the Japanese security framework.

The country's current apparatus is fragmented

into five organizations, each with its own intelligence responsibility: research, diplomacy, counterterrorism, defense, and policing. What is lacking is an institution that can pool intelligence gathering from all these branches and provide analysis to the country's top policy makers. As it is, all these agencies report directly to the Prime Minister's office. As a result Japanese policy-makers suffer huge gaps of important intelligence and mostly react to crises rather than preempt them.

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has already formed the National Security Council, similar to that of the

**Japan suffers huge gaps of important intelligence and mostly reacts to crises rather than preempting them.**

United States, but he wants more freedom to pursue enemies of the country. Abe's conservative LDP party says new intelligence-gathering legislation could be enacted next year. This, however, would put an end to Japan's longstanding policy of non-aggression.

In an interview with Reuters, LDP lawmaker and security expert Takeshi Iwaya insisted that "In an age

when we don't know when or where Japanese lives will be at risk, [...] we need to collect more overseas information". But Abe is facing the post-war pacifist constitutional constraints that limit the military's ability to operate in foreign lands.

After America dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and then Nagasaki on August 6 and 9 of 1945, Tokyo finally conceded defeat to the American-British-led allied forces. Tokyo transformed its outlook from its past imperialist aggressive attitude to a no-conquest, pacifist one. Japan dismantled its armed

## Abe has called for the Japanese Self Defense Force to be able to defend Japanese nationals overseas.

forces and disintegrated its formerly all-powerful intelligence apparatus, which had been feared throughout Asia and the Pacific Rim.

After the loss, Japan rectified its course of action, moving from being a conqueror to a peacemaking global player within the international community, gaining financial strength and respect in international forums. Japan not only reversed its military adventurism of the 1930s and 1940s, it rebuilt a modern country, overcoming the obstacle of the nuclear disasters.

On August 15, 1995, the 50th anniversary of the war's end, then-Prime Minister Tomichi Murayama apologized for the damage and suffering caused by Japan to its Asian neighbors. Tokyo has become the second largest contributor to the United Nations after the United States, and its pacifist and self-defense policy continues to contribute enormously to world peace.

The 21st century, however, has brought with it a new geopolitical landscape. In the South China Sea, rival territorial claims over tiny islands—and the vast resources that lie beneath them—are pushing China and Japan, among others, to boost their maritime capabilities. Last year alone, Asia saw a 3.6 percent increase in military spending, according to figures just released by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

The continent holds five of the world's top ten arms importers—India, China, Pakistan, South Korea, and

Singapore—and five of the top ten military spenders: China, Russia, Japan, India, and South Korea. China takes the lion's share in East Asia, having increased its spending by 170 percent over the last decade, while India and Pakistan are in a bitter arms race in South Asia.

In the current year, Japan has increased its military spending by 2.8 percent while China has increased its defense budget by a further 10 percent.

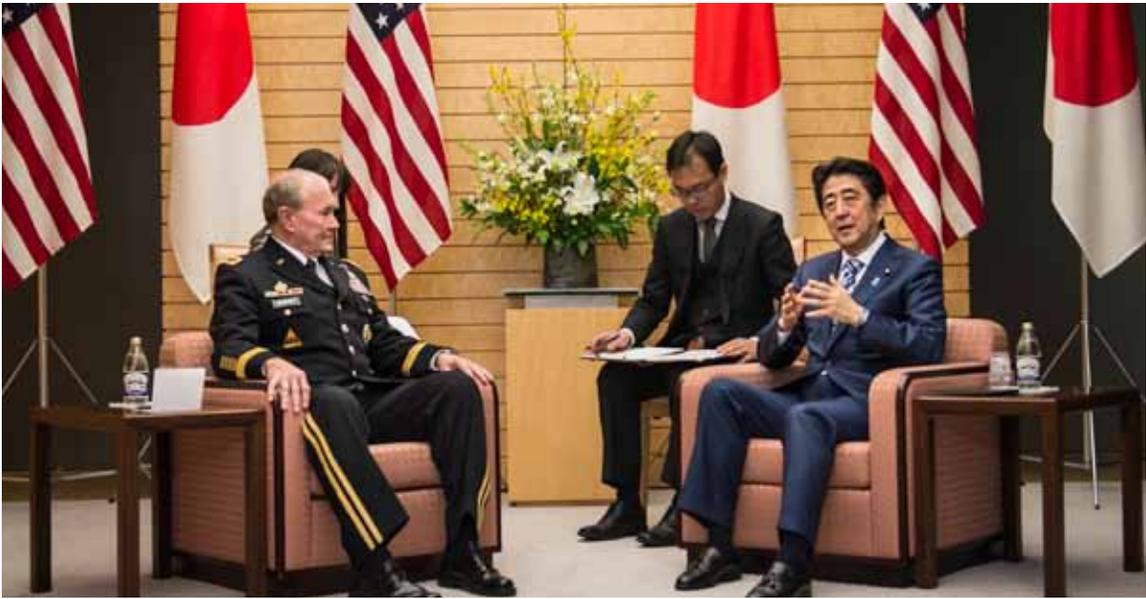
It is no coincidence that Prime Minister Abe now wants to integrate the country's fragmented intelligence community. His agenda has been in place since he launched the National Security Council in late 2013 in order to build up Japan's intelligence apparatus' ability to compete in the Pacific region. Public resistance has now faded with the beheading of the two Japanese captives, and Abe is using this impetus to follow through with his ambitions.

Referring to the ISIS hostage crisis, Abe has called for the Japanese Self Defense Force to be able to defend Japanese nationals overseas, but ultimately this is asking for powers that could be used on the Pacific islands and elsewhere. As Crimea and Ukraine have shown, 'defending a country's nationals' can easily become an excuse for aggressive military behavior. The Prime Minister defended his controversial 2013 visit to the shrines of Japan's colonial war criminals as a simple act of honoring those who fought and died for his nation, but it was intentionally symbolic. Abe is maneuvering Japan into a position of greater military strength.

On August 15 of this year, coinciding with the 70th anniversary of Japan's acceptance of the terms of its WWII defeat, Abe will deliver a statement that addresses the course his nation followed throughout the 20th cen-



*P.M. Abe on the anniversary of Hiroshima*



*U.S. Army General Martin E. Dempsey and Prime Minister Abe*

tury and what lessons can be learned for the 21st.

Tokyo has created an advisory council of experts who will assist the P.M. in shaping his nation's new path and foreign policy in regards to international and regional powers like the U.S., the E.U., Australia, Russia, India, South Korea, and, last but not least, China.

That path could be a continuation of Tokyo's 70 years of pacifism, economic development, and appreciated contributions to the international community. Some experts believe that humble and cautious maneuvering through the coming diplomatic challenges will be a better option for Japan, as it has been since WWII.

But a glance at the Abe government's recent moves and attitudes suggests that the Prime Minister will more likely espouse a hardline regional stance, even at the risk of damaging Japan's international stature. Abe's expansion of his nation's intelligence services is within the rights of any sovereign state, but he must recognize that he is entering into a Pacific arms race. ■

*Mr. Sarkar is a senior international journalist who studied U.S. Foreign Policy and International Security at Cambridge. He is the Executive Editor of THE GLOBAL INTELLIGENCE.*

## Top 10 Military Spenders, 2014

Rank	Country	Spending (\$ Bn.)	% of GDP
1	United States	640.0	3.8
2	China	188.0	2.0
3	Russia	87.8	4.1
4	Saudi Arabia	67.0	9.3
5	France	61.2	2.2
6	United Kingdom	57.9	2.3
7	Germany	48.8	1.4
8	Japan	48.6	1.0
9	India	47.4	2.5
10	South Korea	33.9	2.8

## Top 10 Arms Importers, 2010-14

Rank	Country	% of Global Total	2005-09 Rank
1	India	14.9	2
2	Saudi Arabia	4.9	22
3	China	4.7	1
4	UAE	4.4	4
5	Pakistan	4.3	8
6	Australia	3.7	12
7	Turkey	3.5	9
8	United States	3.4	7
9	South Korea	3.3	3
10	Singapore	3.0	10

# THE GLOBE IN BRIEF

## Stephen Hawking Warns That Aggression Could 'Destroy Us All'

*Huffington Post*

Forget doomsday asteroids, global plagues and super volcanoes. British theoretical physicist and cosmologist Stephen Hawking says we're facing a much more immediate threat—and it's our own behavior.

"The human failing I would most like to correct is aggression," Hawking told contest winner Adaeze Uyanwah, according to *The Independent*. "It may have had survival advantage in caveman days, to get more food, territory or a partner with whom to reproduce, but now it threatens to destroy us all."

Uyanwah, a 24-year-old from California, won the "Guest of Honor" contest from VisitLondon.com. Uyanwah asked Hawking which human shortcoming he would most like to change, and which trait he'd enhance.

We need to replace aggression with empathy, which "brings us together in a peaceful loving state," he said.

## Bold New Law Requires Green Rooftops in France

*CBS News*

Under a law passed in March by the French Parliament, new buildings in commercial zones must partially cover their roofs with plants or solar panels.

"This draft law is a very positive step forward and a concrete lever for greener and smarter cities," said James Watson, CEO of the European Photovoltaic Industry Association. "There are so many unused rooftops in our cities today and solar photovoltaics is the perfect solution to make the best out of them as it can be seamlessly integrated in an urban setting."

Watson added that rooftops, large or small, represent 70 percent of the installed solar capacity in France.

French environmental activists initially had called for a stricter rule that would require all new buildings to be completely covered with either solar panels or plants, according to Agence France-Presse, but the government convinced them to limit it to only commercial buildings.

Even with the limitations, this is progress for France, which has lagged behind other major European countries like Italy, Germany, and Spain in solar power development.

## CIA 'Tried to Crack Apple Devices'

*The Guardian*

The CIA led sophisticated intelligence agency efforts to undermine the encryption used in Apple phones, as well as insert secret surveillance back doors into apps, top-secret documents published by the Intercept online news site have revealed.

The newly disclosed documents from the National Security Agency's internal systems show surveillance methods were presented at its secret annual conference, known as the "jamboree".

The most serious of the various attacks disclosed at the event was the creation of a dummy version of Apple's development software Xcode, which is used by developers to create apps for iOS devices.

The modified version of Xcode would allow the CIA, NSA, or other agencies to insert surveillance backdoors into any app created using the compromised development software. The revelation has already provoked a strong backlash among security researchers on Twitter and elsewhere, and is likely to prompt security audits among Apple developers.

## Canadian Bill C-51 A Threat To Safety Of Internet Users

*Huffington Post*

The Mozilla project, the open-source software community behind the Firefox browser, has issued a statement urging the Canadian federal government not to go ahead with Bill C-51.

The bill's move to broadly expand information sharing between governments and give new powers to Canada's intel agencies will "undermine user trust, threaten the openness of the Web, and reduce the security of the Internet and its users," Mozilla internet policy director Jochai Ben-Avie said in a statement published on the Mozilla blog.

"C-51 is sweeping in scope, including granting Canadian intelligence agencies CSIS and CSE new authority for offensive online attacks, as well as allowing these agencies to obtain significant amounts of information held by the Canadian government," Ben-Avie wrote.

The Canadian Bar Association came out against the bill in March, arguing it contains "ill-considered" measures that erode Canadians' civil liberties without making them safer.

The bill's "vague and overly broad" language means it could be used to harass protesters and put a chill on legitimate dissent, the group said.

## Obama Wants to Reset U.S. Relations With Iran

*Voice of America*

In his Nowruz message to the Iranian people, U.S. President Barack Obama called for an end to decades of mutual mistrust and fear. As the Iranians mark their new year, six world powers prepare to wrap up talks on Iran's nuclear program.

A deal would ensure Tehran's nuclear technology can only be used for peaceful purposes in exchange for the easing of economic sanctions against Iran.

President Obama believes Iran has a historic opportunity to join the international community. He urged Tehran to accept the deal which could lead to greater opportunities for Iranian people.

"More trade and ties with the world. More foreign investment and jobs, including for young Iranians," he said. "More cultural exchanges and chances for Iranian students to travel abroad. More partnerships in areas like science and technology and innovation. In other words, a nuclear deal now can help open the door to a brighter future for you—the Iranian people."

But Iran must first prove its nuclear program is not a threat, said U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein.

## Obama Says Netanyahu Comments Complicate Peace Deal

*NBC News*

President Barack Obama said Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's vow to oppose a two-state solution makes "it hard to find a path" to serious peace talks, despite Netanyahu's post-election comments that he is open to the idea.

"We take him at his word when he said that it wouldn't happen during his prime ministership, and so that's why we've got to evaluate what other options are available to make sure that we don't see a chaotic situation in the region," Obama said in an interview with the *Huffington Post*.

Obama told the news organization that he raised concerns to Netanyahu after his victory in Israel's elections, indicating to the prime minister that "it is going to be hard to find a path where people are seriously believing that negotiations are possible."

Leading up to the election, Netanyahu declared that he would not allow the establishment of a Palestinian state.

Netanyahu's already strained relationship with the U.S. frayed further in March when the prime minister spoke in Congress against a nuclear deal with Iran.

## UN Report Warns of Serious Water Shortages Within 15 Years

*Time*

The world will only have 60 percent of the water it needs by 2030 without significant global policy change, according to a new report from the U.N.

While countries like India are rapidly depleting their groundwater, rainfall patterns around the world are becoming more unpredictable due to global warming, meaning there will be less water in reserves. Meanwhile, as the population increases, so does demand for potable water, snowballing to a massive problem for our waterways in 15 years' time.

The report suggests several changes of course that nations can take, from increasing water prices to finding new ways of recycling waste water.

## Lee Kuan Yew, Founding Father of Singapore, Dies at 91

*The New York Times*

Lee Kuan Yew, who transformed the tiny outpost of Singapore into one of Asia's wealthiest and least corrupt countries as its founding father and first prime minister, died on March 23.

Mr. Lee was prime minister from 1959, when Singapore gained full self-government from the British, until 1990, when he stepped down. Late into his life he remained the dominant personality and driving force in what he called a First World

oasis in a Third World region.

His leadership was criticized for suppressing freedom, but the formula succeeded. Singapore became an admired international business and financial center.

His "Singapore model" included centralized power, clean government and economic liberalism. But it was also criticized as a soft form of authoritarianism, suppressing political opposition, imposing strict limits on free speech and public assembly, and creating a climate of caution and self-censorship. The model has been studied by leaders elsewhere in Asia, including China, and is the subject of many academic case studies.

## China is World's Largest Contributor to Annual Growth in Natural Resource Demand

*Global News Wire*

China is the world's largest contributor to annual growth in the demand for ecological resources and services and has been for the last five years for which data is available, according to Global Footprint Network, a leading expert in natural resource accounting.

While the ecological footprints of many countries declined during the recession, including the United States and Germany, the ecological footprints of China and India, the world's two most populous countries, continued to rise and now comprise about one quarter of the ecological footprint of the entire world.

Still, the ecological footprints per person of both China and India remain far lower than that of many high-income countries. For example, the ecological footprint per person of the United States is more than seven times higher than that of India and nearly three times that of China.



# How to Travel like a Secret Agent

A new WikiLeaks document reveals that the CIA has all the tips for avoiding complications at the border

by Benjamin Hayward

**N**O INTERNATIONAL TRAVELER wants to be delayed by an extra interview at a border control. Even if you're not a CIA agent trying to hide behind a fake identity, secondary screening can be lengthy, embarrassing, or worse. Well-meaning travelers can be barred entry to a country for as small a matter as intending to handle a few business affairs while on a tourist visa.

In late 2014, renowned whistle-blowing and diplomatic-cable website WikiLeaks published two classified documents from a previously unknown CIA office called Checkpoint, which provides “tailored identity and travel intelligence”. The classification of the documents bars allied intelligence officers, such as those in NATO, from reading them. The material provides guidelines for CIA agents attempting to covertly cross foreign borders, including into the territories of some of America's NATO allies.

One of the documents, titled “Schengen Overview”, deals with the risk posed to agents entering the Schengen zone, which is the European region of unrestricted internal borders. It touches on Schengen's electronic tracking systems, but says that there is little identity threat to CIA operatives so far, as

biometric data is not yet used for persons entering the Schengen area with U.S. documents.

As Julian Assange, WikiLeaks's Editor-in-Chief, points out, “The CIA has carried out kidnappings from European Union states, including Italy and Sweden, during the Bush administration.” These documents reveal that under the Obama administration, the CIA is still intent on infiltrating E.U. borders and breaching the sovereignty of E.U. member states by conducting clandestine operations within.

While much of the leak deals with traveling under

**These documents reveal the CIA is still intent on infiltrating E.U. borders and breaching the sovereignty of E.U. member states.**

a false identity, the other document, titled “Surviving Secondary”, contains useful tips for any traveler. The manual provides advice for avoiding secondary screening at international borders.

All international travelers have their documents checked during a primary screening, but E.U. norms suggest this process should take no more than 20 sec-

onds per passenger. Secondary screening is when you are asked to step aside for additional scrutiny. Officials use this extra time to search and interrogate you and attempt to verify or refute your story with external sources. The details you give will often be checked against your point of contact in the country, whether a family member or your hotel.

The search can be embarrassingly thorough. The leaked documents say that Russian customs agents at Sheremetyevo airport in Moscow confiscated and copied the contents of a laptop computer, thumb drive, and removable hard drive belonging to a U.S. Department of Energy official. The searching of electronic files and even e-mails is common practice for high profile individuals whom border officials evaluate to be a risk.

Secondary screening usually lasts no more than a few hours; that delay can be stressful enough at airport transfers, but every border is different. In Turkey, officials are authorized to detain you for up to 24 hours, and in Brazil, up to 48 hours. What's more, if you are selected for secondary screening for any reason, you are at increased risk of being denied entry.

On average one in thirty travelers is stopped by U.S. Customs for secondary screening, but the ratio can be much higher in other countries. Sometimes it is unavoidable; document irregularities and even random selection can all lead to secondary. Other

times a border official may simply feel that "something is not right" with you, according to a CIA warning to its operatives.

Visa applications and airline-provided Advanced Passenger Information (API) allow border officials to pre-select some travelers for secondary screening. The leaks reveal that when API is provided by the airline, border agents watch for unusual

### Russian customs agents confiscated and copied the contents of a laptop computer, thumb drive, and removable hard drive.

ticket purchases, such as cash payments, same-day reservations, or discounts that are indicative of government or military employees.

A known connection to military service, activism, or international NGOs dramatically increases the chance of secondary screening, as does crossing a border associated with illegal migration, terrorism, or drug smuggling risks. An unusual travel history, such as frequent short trips to the screening country or stamps from terrorism-sponsoring countries, can all lead to secondary. Every country keeps an eye out for travelers of certain nationalities or coming from given departure countries, a watchlist based on the unique geopolitical concerns associated with those countries.

But if you haven't been pre-selected, avoiding secondary screening starts with the lineup. The leaked documents reveal that many airports use cameras and undercover officers to spot suspicious behavior in the lines. Officers in Mauritius, for example, use video monitoring to observe passengers retrieving their baggage and zoom in on faces to study their expressions. Suspicious behavior could include signaling a seemingly unconnected passenger, switching lines, or studying security procedures. They're also looking for physiological signs of nervousness, according to industry standards outlined in the document. These include "shaking or trembling hands, rapid breathing for no ap-



*Schengen ePassport gates*

## How to Travel like a Secret Agent

parent reason, cold sweats, pulsating carotid arteries, a flushed face, and avoidance of eye contact”.

Next, your appearance is profiled in order to evaluate you. Your clothes and baggage and whether these are consistent with your profession, ticket, and travel itinerary are all considered. Many countries will at-

**Do not allow a significant pause between the question and the answer, and do not provide overly specific responses, the CIA advises.**

tempt to guess if you are foreign military personnel by your age, fitness level, and haircut.

In the primary interview, “Good preparation is key,” according to the leaked documents. Officials watch for unreasonable explanations of travel and will attempt to catch you in a false statement. They ask about your past travel and check the dates you provide against the cachets in your passport. For all answers, the CIA advises to avoid the common habits of lying: do not allow a significant pause between the question and the answer, and do not provide overly specific responses.

Behavior and demeanor also factor into the decision. Border officials are on the lookout both for those who are verbose out of nervousness and those who appear to be withholding information. Concise yet complete answers with only the relevant details are the best tactic, according to the leaked document:

“A frequent operational CIA traveler to Asia and Europe advises that the most effective prevention of secondary is to have simple and plausible answers to the two most frequently asked questions, ‘Why are you here,’ and ‘Where are you staying.’”

When baggage is also checked during primary screening, border controls are not only looking for contraband. Unusual packing, such as too few items or too many brand new objects may send you to secondary. Bahrain International Airport, for example, refers all travelers carrying unusual electronic equipment to secondary, and Turkish National Intelligence considers “that possession of multiple passports is indicative of an individual attempting to obscure their real reason for traveling”.

In addition to random screening, the docu-

ment suggests some officials, as in Somalia or Bangladesh, detain airline passengers simply to get a bribe, but don’t assume this is always the case.

Finally, if you are detained for secondary screening, most of the tips for passing primary screening also apply to secondary. Have your story straight, and don’t deviate from it. The CIA suggests that agents who avoid providing unnecessary details probably shorten secondary interviews. And with these tips, you too can pass border scrutiny with ease.

In truth, the leak of these documents threatens border integrity around the world, but so does the free passage of U.S. operatives into foreign nations. The CIA alone shouldn’t benefit from these guidelines. If foreign nations find it worrying that the CIA is sending operatives across their borders, they can now provide the CIA’s advice for covert travel to their own affiliates. Everyone should be able to travel like a secret agent. ■

*Mr. Hayward is a journalist and assistant editor at THE GLOBAL INTELLIGENCE.*





## The U.S. and India Hand in Hand

Obama and Modi have a lot of promises to keep after their meeting on India's Republic Day

by Dinesh Sharma

**I**NDIA'S MOST RECENT Republic Day may mark the start of something new. The U.S. President's official visit was long awaited after the election of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's pro-business Bharatiya Janata Party last May. On his historic, three-day visit to India, Barack Obama championed international cooperation between the two nations along the lines of development, democracy, and, last but not least, industry.

President Barack Obama's attendance marks the first time a U.S. President has been invited to the Republic Day parade. India and the United States have had a history of mistrust and suspicion since the Cold War, when India and the Soviet Union were strategic partners. For years, the U.S. and its allies blocked the transfer of technology to India in order to curb its nuclear ambitions. This Western policy isolated India from serious foreign business for many years.

The U.S. President's visit was therefore symbolic. Obama, the head of the world's oldest constitutional democracy, spoke to India as it celebrated the 65th anniversary of its founding as a constitutional republic. As India's influence grows on the world stage, Obama envisions a future of cooperation between the two nations:

"I believe that the relationship between India and the United States can be one of the defining partnerships of this century. When I spoke to your Parliament on my

last visit, I laid out my vision for how our two nations can build that partnership. And today, I want to speak directly to you—the people of India—about what I believe we can achieve together, and how we can do it."

### Two Nations Intertwined

Obama connected the struggles both nations have faced, linking caste with race, gender equality with democracy, poverty with economic opportunity, and India's diversity with its ability to shape the 21st century in concert with the U.S.

The two nations have much in common. Like distant paths converging through history, India and the U.S. seem to be heading in the same direction for the foreseeable future. The hug Obama and Modi shared in greeting on the tarmac is representative of the partnership their two nations are developing.

Obama's visit on Republic Day was a rite of passage for both nations, made possible both by the election of Prime Minister Modi and by the long line of American diplomats—Vice-President Joe Biden, Secretary of State John Kerry, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, and former Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel—who have all strengthened the relationship between the two countries on recent diplomatic missions to India.

## The U.S. and India: Hand in Hand

The connection is much older, however. The architect of India's constitution, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, studied at Columbia University alongside John Dewey, the American progressive philosopher who advanced the idea of educational equality. On the 65th anniversary of

part of it, for light and liberty go together. It is our glory that we first put it into motion.”

Will Jeffersonian democracy transform the globe? When you look across the Middle East and the Asia-Pacific region, it is clearly a work in progress. But it is in full swing in India.

Obama humbly spoke of his Kenyan grandfather, who was a cook for the British, and he linked Gandhi's struggles with those of Martin Luther King and the

American civil rights movement. He suggested that if an 'untouchable', Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, could write the constitution of India, then anything is possible.

### India and the United States have had a history of mistrust and suspicion since the Cold War.

the promulgation of that very constitution, a visit from the President of the United States was a fitting tribute. But American democracy has long influenced India.

The founders of the United States—Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin—believed that in founding their constitutional democracy in 1776, they were shaping the future of humankind for all time. In 1795, Jefferson commented on the continuing revolutions in Holland and France:

“This ball of liberty, I believe most piously, is now so well in motion that it will roll round the globe, at least the enlightened

### Path of Development

Obama also drew attention to India's responsibilities on its path of development. One of the most consistent findings from population studies of India has been the impact of girls' education on economic development, human development, and overall growth.

Whether by design or sheer coincidence, the pow-



*Republic Day parade in New Delhi*

er of women in society was on display at the Republic Day parade. Women cadets led male battalions with vibrancy and steadfastness. Any sign of the ongoing rape crisis, which P.M. Modi mentioned in his independence speech, was completely submerged.

Obama praised the presence of so many women cadets marching in the national parade, and said he wanted to bring his daughters to India for a visit someday.

In his speech, he underlined the importance of women to development. Analysis shows that nations are more successful when their women are successful. “One of the most direct measures of whether a nation is going to develop effectively,” Obama said, “is how it treats its women”:

“When a girl goes to school, it doesn’t just open up her young mind, it benefits all of us—because maybe someday she’ll start her own business, or invent a new technology, or cure a disease. And when women are able to work, families are healthier, and communities are wealthier, and entire countries are more prosperous. And when young women are educated, then their children are going to be well educated and have more opportunity.”

A sure sign of this development in India is its growing middle class. Economists and development experts have predicted the ongoing growth of the Asian middle class in the big-seven Asian economies, including India, China, and Korea, and expect they will soon be on par with the middle class in the U.S. and E.U.

There is a danger, however, that as the growth of emerging Asian economies slows, this potential middle class may get dragged down by the burgeoning social costs associated with demographic transition, such as the demands of urbanization.

Obama made a pitch for middle class values, however—the same pitch he often makes at rallies in the U.S.—urging them to work to alleviate poverty. While he acknowledged that India has already come a long way in expanding its growing middle class to more than 300 million people, Obama said more work needs to be done to create equality.

One of the forces that can create this positive change over the next century is India’s human capital: its younger population, religious and cultural diversity, skills, and entrepreneurship. “Nobody embodies this progress and this sense of possibility more than our young people,” Obama said. He described how the U.S. is ready to partner with India

to create this future:

“The United States has the largest Indian diaspora in the world, including some three million proud Indian-Americans. And they make America stronger, and they tie us together—bonds of family and friendship that allow us to share in each other’s success. For all these reasons, India and the United States are not just natural partners. I believe America can be India’s best partner.”

### Axis of Security

The handshaking between Obama and Modi is playing out in a greater context of geopolitical security. The camaraderie and discussion of democratic values in the speeches generated nervous reactions among the Chinese, whose state media declared that the Republic Day events with Obama were a charade. The Chinese media reminded viewers how

**“The relationship between India and the United States can be one of the defining partnerships of this century.”**

the U.S. had banned Narendra Modi from entry to America for over ten years over his presumed role in the 2002 Gujarat riots.

Leading up to the celebration, the Indian media ran stories suggesting Pakistan could try to disrupt the events out of sheer rivalry. Nothing of the sort materialized, but the security surrounding the parade and speeches was very tight and almost overwhelming. Even journalists were forbidden from carrying pens or pencils for security reasons.

The international attention was to be expected, however. Obama’s visit may foretell a new alignment in South Asia, as suggested by the recent book *The China-Pakistan Axis* by Andrew Small.

When Obama was meeting with Modi, Pakistani Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, the country’s strongman, was in China meeting with his counterparts. “The geopolitics of Asia was on vivid display,” according to Bruce Riedel, a long-time South Asia expert at the Brookings Institution:

“The region’s dual axes and their evolving relationships—India and

## The U.S. and India: Hand in Hand

America on the one hand, and Pakistan and China on the other—will be central to the global order in our times.”

That the United States and India seek security cooperation is certain. *The New York Times*' principal headline interpreted the embrace between the two heads of state as “Modi and Obama, Hugging for India's Security”.

It may have been only for the sake of ceremony, but nonetheless, Obama and many U.S. Congress representatives—Nancy Pelosi, Mark Warner, Ami Bera—attended the honors ceremony for India's martyred soldiers and those still fighting terrorist threats at its northern border.



*President Obama and P.M. Modi*

## Promises to Keep

While the U.S. President's speech heralded the beginning of a new era for Indian democracy and industry, the hard work is only beginning.

Uncertainty remains. Will the nuclear energy deal get mired in red tape again? Will infrastructure projects take off the ground on time? Will Prime Minister Modi be able to deliver business invest-

solar capacity to 100 GW by 2022.

The U.S. and India plan to strengthen regional cooperation in Asia-Pacific, including making trilateral consultations with key countries in the region, such as Japan. It is the perfect intersection between Prime Minister Modi's “Act East” policy and the rebalance towards Asia that the U.S. has been trying to achieve.

Industry experts can now move forward with the held up civil nuclear deal. Both administrations met three times since September to work out the fundamentals.

Prime Minister Modi attributed the potential success of these early initiatives to the growing “chemistry” between the two leaders and their ability to discuss matters openly. President Obama warned he may not be able to steer some of the big initiatives to completion himself, but the new Indian P.M. may be able to see them through.

Long term uncertainty notwithstanding, there is no doubt that Obama's historic visit will serve as a landmark for Indo-U.S. relations for many decades to come. As the historian Douglas Brinkley has said, Obama will be seen in history as the first global president. Obama's concerted push for India as a strategic partner in the rising Asian region in

## Analysis shows that nations are more successful when their women are successful.

ment in the short term? These were the questions on everyone's mind after the festivities were over.

Obama's visit may have been filled with symbolism, but in addition important agreements were reached on the civil nuclear deal, infrastructure projects, smart city technology, defense, educational exchange, and greater business investments. If the agreements can be carried out, the rhetoric of the day will be worth a lot more.

Aiming for greater energy and security independence, India intends to increase the renewable energy in its grid with a target of increasing India's

the 21st century is a testament to this truism.

With great optimism, Obama concluded his visit to India with the promise that the strength of the two nations comes from their continued commitment to the ideals of democracy:

“Sisters and brothers of India, we are not perfect countries. And we’ve known

**Modi attributed the potential success of these early initiatives to the growing “chemistry” between the two leaders.**

tragedy and we’ve known triumph. We’re home to glittering skyscrapers, but also terrible poverty; and new wealth, but also rising inequality. We have many challenges in front of us. But the reason I stand here today, and am so optimistic about

our future together, is that, despite our imperfections, our two nations possess the keys to progress in the century ahead. We vote in free elections. We work and we build and we innovate. We lift up the least among us. We reach for heights previous generations could not even imagine.

We respect human rights and human dignity, and it is recorded in our constitutions. And we keep striving to live up to those ideals put to paper all those years ago.” ■

*Mr. Sharma is associate research professor at Binghamton University’s Institute for Global Cultural Studies in Binghamton, N.Y. He is the editor of the new book The Global Obama:*

*Crossroads of Leadership in the 21st Century, published by Routledge Press. His previous book, Barack Obama in Hawaii and Indonesia: The Making of a Global President, was rated as one of the Top Ten Black History Books for 2012.*



*Modi and Obama at the India-U.S. Business Summit*



## All Work and No Play

25 years after the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child, child labor continues to plague the world

by John McNeil

**H**ABTU WAS in eighth grade when he was taken. “The military training was very tough and brutal,” he said:

“The trainers beat us, stamped on our heads with their shoes, and we were subject to all sorts of punishments. We were half-starved most of the time. We told them our wishes were to study but they did not listen. Once, in 2010, a minor like us tried to escape, and they shot him. We didn’t know whether or not he died.”

Habtu’s story is typical of children growing up in Eritrea, a country of six million on the Horn of Africa that, despite being a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, currently boasts the highest rates of child labor in the world.

The convention, which came into force 25 years ago this year, has done much to improve the quality of life for children around the world. It is the most widely accepted human rights treaty in history. UNICEF has said the convention changed the way children were viewed. They became human beings with a distinct set of rights and not merely objects

that came with an obligation of care.

In the first 10 years after the treaty there was a rapid increase in the number of organizations and institutions specializing in children’s rights. Many signatory states adopted national action plans that set specific goals and strategies for improving children’s rights in health, education and nutrition. But while awareness of children’s issues certainly improved, the reality of children’s lives in many signatory states did not alter. The convention has failed to translate into solid domestic policy in many areas of the world, leaving children vulnerable.

**In January, Somalia finally ratified the convention, but, remarkably, America still hasn’t.**

In January, Somalia finally ratified the convention, but, remarkably, the United States still has not. And despite the fact that the convention has been ratified by all but two nations on Earth, according to UNICEF 150 million children worldwide are used for labor. This includes 13 percent of children aged five to 14 in developing countries, while in the world’s poorest countries, one in four children is en-



*Child soldier, Ethiopia*

gaged in work that is harmful to their health.

Poverty and war are common factors in areas with high incidences of child labor. But the fact that the United States is, along with South Sudan, one of the two nations not to ratify the convention shows that the problem of child labor is not limited to impoverished or war-torn nations. And in every country, the network of child labor is sometimes only as far away as your cell phone or designer jeans.

## War and Children

The 2014 Child Labor Index compiled by international risk management firm Maplecroft analyzed 197 countries and rated 83 as an extreme risk. The top 10 most extreme risks, in order, were Eritrea, Somalia, DR Congo, Myanmar, Sudan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Zimbabwe, Yemen and Burundi. Notably, all of these nations are signatories and have ratified the convention.

This year marked the first time in six years that Myanmar did not top the list. The index noted the two main conditions that result in child labor are instability, created by poverty or war, and policy that enables child

labor as a planned part of state programs. Myanmar suffers from both problems.

Though Tatmadaw, Myanmar's Armed Forces, officially does not have a military draft, there have been reports of the military abducting children and forcing them into military service.

In an interview in *The Telegraph* in 2007, Jo Becker of Human Rights Watch said that "Military recruiters are literally buying and selling children to fill the ranks of the

**150 million children worldwide are used for labor; this includes 13 percent of children aged five to 14 in developing countries.**

Burmese armed forces." In a nation where the military has been engaged in conflict with up to 30 ethnic rebel forces at a time, child soldiers are often themselves forced to commit human rights violations as part of their military service, burning down villages and capturing civilians who are then used for forced labor.

There has been progress toward democracy in



*Father and son brickmakers in Myanmar*

Myanmar in recent years, with the transition to civilian rule from the military junta in 2010. In meetings in Myanmar in November 2014, U.S. President Barack Obama stressed the importance of constitutional changes and that the country's 2015 elections be held on time. However, the president also said the progress that has been made does not go far enough and is not irreversible. The country continues to suffer from the kind of instability that causes many social problems, including child labor.

**“Military recruiters are literally buying and selling children to fill the ranks of the Burmese armed forces.”**

“Due to a combination of desperate poverty and a history of conflict, child labor is now a pillar of Myanmar's economy,” said Marilu Gresens, senior human rights analyst for Maplecroft, in an interview with *Foreign Policy* in late 2014.

### The Worst Nation for Children

While there is hope for progress in Myanmar, the same cannot be said for Eritrea, the country deemed the most extreme child labor threat in the 2014 Child Labor Index. Eritrea has no constitution, legislature or independent judiciary, and the country has been under the sole control of President Isaias Afewerki since 1991. He has refused entry to United Nations reporters, and the U.N. has condemned the country's continued widespread human rights violations.

While Eritrea's position on the international stage is against child labor, numerous reports have shown that the reality is very different in practice. The government acknowledges mandatory military service for those aged 18-45 years, and many adults are forced to perform military service for their entire lives, but forced military service often begins with minors.

The Report on Child Rights Violations in Eritrea, published by Human Rights Concern in November 2013 contains numerous accounts from children who were kidnapped by the military.

Hiwot was 17 when she got off a bus and was apprehended for no reason and taken to a military train-

ing camp. One of 30 children in her battalion, she had no change of clothes and lived on bread and water. She was repeatedly raped and beaten. Her parents found her in the camp six months later and produced documentation proving she was a minor. She was released in poor health.

Davit was 15 when he was taken from the street and brought to a similar military training camp. He endured six months there before escaping back home to his family. When he tried to flee the country, he was caught and sentenced to two years in prison. On his release, he managed to escape across the Eritrean border, but he's haunted by the memory of the three children he had to leave behind.

Because Eritrea does not allow international oversight, it's impossible to know how many children in that troubled nation have suffered a similar fate.

In addition to forced military service, there have been allegations of forced labor and child labor at the Bisha mining operation, a significant part of Eritrea's

economy. Human rights conditions at the mine have been the subject of international lawsuits, with workers suing sub-contracted companies for the conditions they endured there. The government and the companies have denied the allegations, but workers have

**The Report in Eritrea contains numerous accounts from children who were kidnapped by the military.**

claimed that in addition to poor work conditions, they were subject to repeated, systematic torture.

**Buying Child Labor**

Tales of abduction and forced military training create the impression that child labor is a distant problem for those that live in the West—prevalent only in war-torn countries with unstable economies and political systems wracked with corruption and devoid of democracy.



*Clothing market in Keren, Eritrea*



*Agricultural child laborer, Colombia*

However, in the global economy of the 21st century, affluent Western consumers unwittingly support child labor in foreign countries. Many North American and European companies have taken advantage of today's open, global trading climate to move or sub-contract manufacturing and production to various countries around the globe where labor and raw materials are less expensive and less restricted by labor laws.

In 2013, an internal review by Apple found 106 children working in 11 factories in its supply chain in the previous year. Apple immediately severed its relationship with Guandgdong Real Faith Pingzhou Electronics when they discovered the company used

74 children under the age of 16, many of them with forged identity papers, according to *The Guardian*. Apple's investigation revealed the children had been supplied by the region's largest human resources agency, Shenzhen Quanshun Human Resources, which conspired with families to place underage children in the workforce.

Apple launched the review of labor conditions in its supply chain after a series of suicides at Foxconn, a Taiwanese company used in manufacturing components for iPhones and iPads. While the review uncovered numerous labor issues, including the excessive hours worked by many employees, the company found 95 percent of its facilities complied with child labor laws. *The Guardian* reported, "Transgressors were told to return minors to a school chosen by their family, pay for their education, and give them an income equal to their factory wages."

While child labor was found to represent a small portion of the Apple's production chain, and the company has taken steps to eradicate it, the problem of child labor is even more widespread in the international garment market.

In 2013, the collapse of the Rana Plaza garment factory in Bangladesh killed 1,130 people and shone an international spotlight on the poor working conditions in the industry. The United Kingdom's ITV returned to Bangladesh a year later and produced a documentary that showed children as young as 13 being beaten with fabric rolls while they worked in garment factories.

Another ITV news report of a fatal factory fire showed how the corporate structure of the garment industry is part of the problem. Companies that run the factories produce garments for a supplier, which then sells to internationally recognizable companies such as the Gap, Next, and Walmart. Because there is a corporate middleman, these international companies have no privity of contract and therefore no direct relationship with the company ignores workers' safety.

While such international companies may be ab-

solved of overt culpability for working conditions because of this lack of a direct relationship, they could nevertheless effect change in these factories by insisting manufacturing companies meet minimal standards and working conditions. Few companies have done so, however, in the absence of social pressure or legal requirements.

### American Child Laborers

While the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child may be the most ratified of all human rights treaties, it will fall short of its global potential as long as the United States is one of only two nations on Earth that has not ratified the convention. (The other, South Sudan, is a new country only constituted in 2011.)

A 2012 article in *The Atlantic* pointed out nearly 500,000 children, as young as six years old, harvest 25 percent of U.S. crops. The 2014 Child Labor Index compiled by Maplecroft ranked the U.S. as a moderate child labor threat, alongside Cuba, Georgia, and Kuwait.

American children's rights watchdogs have called out the U.S. for not ratifying the convention. The Child Welfare League of America outlined the irony in this given the U.S. was instrumental in drafting the convention:

“It is paradoxical for the United States to not have ratified the CRC given that our government played an active role in the decade-long drafting sessions, commenting on nearly all of the 41 substantive articles and proposing the original text for seven articles.”

Why was there an about face? Congress called for the convention to be submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for review, but this was delayed “due to procedural and political barriers”, according to the Child Welfare League.

### Apple found 106 children working in 11 factories in its supply chain in 2012.

During the U.S. presidential campaign in 2008, President Barak Obama was asked at the Walden University Youth Debate whether he would finally ratify the convention if elected. His reply was common sense:

“It’s embarrassing to find ourselves in

the company of Somalia, a lawless land. I will review this and other treaties to ensure that the United States resumes its leadership in human rights.”

### Nearly 500,000 children, as young as six years old, harvest 25 percent of U.S. crops.

Somalia, however, beat the U.S. to the promise in January. President Obama, now in the third year of his second mandate, has made no effort to ratify the convention. The Child Welfare League suggest one of the main obstacles for the U.S. has been the convention's well-defined requirements surrounding youth criminal justice. For example, while the convention requires defined age limits for criminal culpability, the U.S. justice system has reserved the right to waive youth jurisdiction and try children of any age as adults. Until a 2012 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, this included the ability to issue life sentences to minors, a clear violation of the convention. In December 2014, the court agreed to hear a case challenging whether its decision should be applied retroactively to all prisoners given life sentences as minors.

The U.S. would also have to amend its labor laws to conform to the convention. An amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act passed during the Great Depression made it legal for children as young as 12 to be employed in the agricultural sector. Though it is a piece of legislation that may have made sense at the time, it seems grossly anachronistic by modern standards. The Depression-era policy created a system of legal child labor in the U.S. that continues to this day.

“There are hundreds of thousands of children working on U.S. farms,” said Zama Coursen-Neff, Human Rights Watch's deputy director of the children's rights division in the 2010 documentary film, *Fingers to the Bone*.

“And many kids who are working are working on large commercial farms. The child labor law in the U.S. is pretty good, except when it comes to agriculture. Then it has a big, gaping hole. U.S. law allows children to work in agriculture at far younger ages for unlimited hours outside of school, in much more dangerous conditions than any other sector.”

Coursen-Neff noted that because of the agricul-

## All Work and No Play

ture exception, a child in the U.S. can legally work for any farmer beginning at age 12. This means that while a child can be employed to pick vegetables in a field, he would be too young to be employed serv-

for children to pitch in for a family's survival. But in the 21st century, almost every country on the planet has agreed to more stringent child labor protection than currently exists in the U.S. agricultural industry.

**“U.S. law allows children to work in agriculture at far younger ages for unlimited hours outside of school, in much more dangerous conditions than any other sector.”**

The 25 years since the start of the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child show the chasm between the past promise of protecting all of the world's

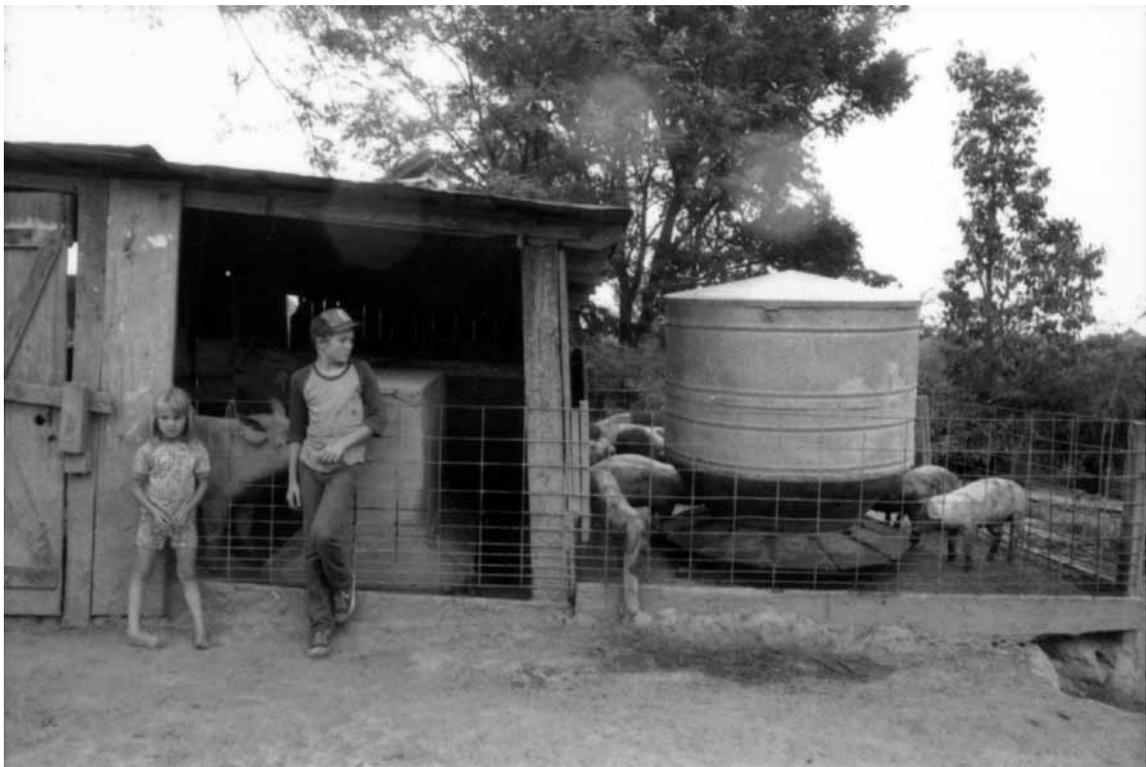
ing those same vegetables as a waiter in a restaurant.

“Farm work is actually the most dangerous occupation that's open to kids in terms of fatalities,” she said. “Kids are working with dangerous and sharp tools, doing work that may require them to bend down for hours.”

American children as young as 12 can even work on a farm *instead* of going to school if they are employed by a parent, according to the U.S. Department of Labor in interpretation bulletins about the legislation. It is understandable how this policy may have benefitted families at the peak of the Great Depression, when it may have been essential

children and the reality that something as big as a war, as small as designer jeans, or as indifferent as inaction can stop that promise from coming into practice. Whether it's in a small war-torn African dictatorship or on the farms of the wealthiest democracy in history, the rights of the child remain vulnerable, which is why they should also be inviolable. ■

*Mr. McNeil is a Canadian freelance journalist who writes about business, law, and public policy. His writing can be found at [johnjmcneil.wordpress.com](http://johnjmcneil.wordpress.com).*



*American farm children, 1982*



## Will the Rivals Dance?

Even as China and India maneuver for naval supremacy, trade can bring them together

by Rajendra Prabhu

“THE DRAGON-ELEPHANT TANGO is possible,” said China’s Ambassador to India, Le Yucheng, in early March. It was on the eve of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s historic visit to the Indian Ocean island nations of Sri Lanka, the Maldives, Mauritius, and the Seychelles, where India and China rival for geopolitical influence.

The Chinese ambassador’s remarks were meant to remove the impression that Beijing viewed Modi’s visit as part of a competition between Asia’s two largest nations. But the situation between the two in the Indian Ocean and South China Sea looks more like a sequence of strategic moves than a friendly tango.

### Strategic Moves

A week before Modi’s visit to Sri Lanka, President Maithripala Sirisena’s new government blocked the ongoing Colombo port city project, for which China had promised \$1.5 billion in support in exchange for various concessions. Though the Colombo government said the decision was part of President Sirisena’s electoral pledge to review all megaprojects entered into by his predecessor Mahinda Rajapaksha, the timing was significant.

The Modi visit to Sri Lanka takes place in the wake of an India-friendly government winning the

January election with a massive popular mandate. Then-President Rajapaksha had advanced the election date hoping to ride back to power for the third time on the basis of his victory over militant Tamil secessionists. He had even boasted that he had no rival challenger in the election. But public discontent with his authoritarian ways, including dismissing the chief justice, promotion of Buddhist extremism, and rampant corruption, led to his ministerial colleague Sirisena breaking away and becoming a challenger. Both the

**President Sirisena’s first foreign visit was to New Delhi, where he signed strategic security agreements with Modi.**

Sinhalas and the Tamils voted for Sirisena, surprising the incumbent and defeated president.

The new regime quickly set off in January to mend the relationship with India, promising to release Indian fishermen in the country’s jails, to reverse all of Rajapaksa’s anti-democratic steps, including reinstating the chief justice he had had impeached, and to implement constitutional amendments that would grant



*Sri Lankan President Sirisena and Indian P.M. Modi*

more power to the elected North-Eastern provincial governments in the Tamil majority areas. President Sirisena's first foreign visit was to New Delhi, where he signed strategic security agreements with Modi in a variety of areas, including defense cooperation and Indian help in setting up a civil nuclear power project. And Modi has now offered to help build a 500 MW power project in Sri Lanka.

gime, however, is determined to improve its country's relationship with India and remove any impression that Sri Lanka will use China to counter its neighbor.

While neither New Delhi nor Beijing wish to project their rivalry into the Indian Ocean, South China Sea, or rim countries, the geopolitical reality cannot be overlooked. India has suffered a setback in the Maldives, strategically very important for New

Delhi, where China and Pakistan together ousted pro-Indian president Nasheed. Nasheed was sentenced to 13 years in prison in March in a trial both the U.S. and India worry was politically motivated. The very first act of the new regime in Malé was to oust the Indian firm that had built and was running the airport in

**The first act of the new regime in Malé was to oust the Indian firm that had built and was running the airport in favour of a Chinese one.**

The swift change in Colombo surprised Beijing. China had invested a great deal in several projects in Sri Lanka, as Rajapaksa had promoted an increased Chinese presence to counter Indian power in his country. During Rajapaksa's rule the opposition had suspected that the terms of Chinese aid for these projects were "unfavourable" to Sri Lanka and might have involved kickbacks to the corrupt Rajapaksa regime. The new re-

the Maldives capital in favour of a Chinese one. Subsequently the regime has moved steadily toward authoritarianism, with the incarceration of the country's vice-president and defense minister.

In the other two island countries that Modi is scheduled to visit, Mauritius and the Seychelles, the rivalry for influence is palpable. Mauritius has a large Indian expatriate population. Its economy is largely

managed by Indian enterprises and entrepreneurs of Indian origin. The island country is a great source of investment for India, often inviting criticism that Indian money is getting laundered through Mauritius. China has sought to provide aid through megaprojects here too, but has not succeeded. It seeks port facilities under the pretext of anti-pirate operations in the Indian Ocean. The Chinese are present in the Seychelles, however, building roads and port facilities.

### Naval Rivalry

From the Chinese perspective, Sri Lanka, Mauritius, and the Seychelles are part of its maritime Silk Road revival, which it hopes to dominate with its naval presence. Beijing has port facilities in both Colombo and Trincomalee in Sri Lanka, and its attack submarines have been regular visitors to the former port, raising grave concerns in New Delhi last year. Then-president Rajapaksa was catering to China, which sought rest and recuperation facilities for its naval personnel in Sri Lankan ports. President Sirisena is scheduled to visit Beijing later this year, perhaps in May, but the new regime in Colombo has already ruled out further visits to its ports by Chinese naval submarines.

In Mauritius, Modi is scheduled to discuss an Indian-built 1,300-ton naval patrol vessel and a slew of other naval ships, including attack vessels, that India will build for Mauritius. The naval security angle is

prominent in all three of Modi's visits, including to the Seychelles, as India is expected to be invited to map the waters around that archipelago.

"India has a role as a net security provider in the Indian Ocean region," pointed out an official involved in the preparation for the Prime Minister's programme. According to Indian defense sources, New Delhi has carried out a maritime survey around the three island countries over the past 12 months to determine what India could do to strengthen their seaborne security.

While India has watched the increasing Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean with concern, the Chinese are demanding to know why India should suspect China's activity in the international sea lanes simply because these are in an area called the Indian Ocean, but which are in fact open to all nations under international conventions. The Indian reply has been to seek economic and security advantages in the South China Sea rim countries, like Vietnam, that China considers its preserve. India has agreements with Vietnam to explore for oil in the offshore islands in the South China Sea near the Vietnamese coast. This has raised Beijing's ire at what it sees as Indian poaching in seas that are vital for Chinese security.

Officially, neither China nor India wants to represent these developments as an outcome of the two countries' intense rivalry. Nor do the concerned island nations wish to be seen as pawns in the Sino-Indian rivalry. However, at regional land borders, the rivalry is more overt.



*Chinese naval vessel in January*

## Will the Rivals Dance?

China has backed Pakistan, gifting it with a good part of the northernmost area of Kashmir near the Karakoram mountain range, from where China is building a strategic road to the Pakistani port of Gadarra. This port is being built with naval facilities to gain

### Colombo has already ruled out further visits to its ports by Chinese naval submarines.

a secure land access to the Indian Ocean for Beijing. India, on the other hand, is seeking an eastern international rail and road link from the country's north-east to Vietnam via Myanmar, Thailand, and Cambodia.

Among China's border claims against India is the entire north-eastern state of Arunachal. Beijing refuses to recognize that state as Indian territory, and visitors from Arunachal to China are not given a Chinese visa stamped on their Indian passports but a separate stapled visa paper. The two countries are also rivaling for influence in Myanmar, but the government of that country has recently deferred discussions with China on construction projects, respecting India's sensibilities on the issue.

## Competing Markets

Though at \$10.3 trillion (2013), China's GDP is many times that of India (\$2.04 trillion), Beijing has noted that its own economy has begun to decelerate while India's is recovering from the global economic meltdown. Beijing may also have noted that both the World Bank and Goldman Sachs have predicted that by 2016, India will overtake China's growth rate. The latest data from China says that it has scaled down its growth target for 2015 to 7 percent from last year's 7.5 percent.

"Fiscal will remain proactive and monetary policy prudent while the Yuan exchange rate will be at a reasonable and balanced level," a government statement in Beijing said. The U.S. and other countries have consistently held that China has kept its currency undervalued so as to not lose the leeway this gives to its exports even after its foreign exchange reserves have gone beyond a trillion USD.

Analysts have been predicting this deceleration in China's economy ever since the government was forced to tackle huge levels of governmental corruption and increasing inequality. The economic compulsions and

unrest among farmers have forced it to raise domestic consumption levels and moderate its export boom. Top communist party leaders, businessmen, and officials have been put on trial this year, charged with corruption, money laundering, and increasing personal wealth. However, 7 percent is still higher than the IMF's forecast of 6.8 percent.

The contrast with India is striking. "When other countries are facing serious challenges India is about to take off on a faster growth trajectory once again," said Indian Finance

Minister Arun Jaitley when presenting the budget for 2015-16 on February 28. He noted that the IMF had downgraded its forecasts of the global growth rate by 0.3 percent and the World Trade Organization downgraded it from 5.3 to 4 percent. "The current account deficit this year is expected to be below 1.3 percent of the GDP; based on the new series, GDP growth is expected to accelerate to 7.4 percent, making India the fastest growing large economy in the world," he underlined. Even the latest HSBC survey said on March 5 that the Emerging Markets Index for February rose to 51.9 from 51.2 in January. The composite index for India including manufacturing and services stood at 53.5 against 51.8 for China; India's performance was the best among the BRICS countries.

The good news from India is largely attributed to a stable government with a determined Prime Minister who has taken full charge of the government and has full legislative and ruling party backing for widespread economic reforms, some of which have been announced in the budget while others are on the horizon. Prime Minister Modi is seen as personally taking charge of foreign policy as well. In the last six months he has been to Japan to sign a defense security and technology transfer agreement, has received enthusiastic support from President Obama, with whom he signed a defense production and interaction memorandum of understanding, and has opened up India to foreign direct

### The concerned island nations do not wish to be seen as pawns in the Sino-Indian rivalry.

investment in local production of defense equipment.

China, for long in an adversarial position against India in the Asian region, now finds that India offers a tremendous opportunity for its capital, technology, and trade. Geopolitical rivalry may therefore take a back-

seat to this opportunity. So when Sri Lanka signed a defense security and civil nuclear technology agreement with India last month, Beijing was more moderate than expected in its comment: it welcomed this move. China's own trade with India is highly beneficial, with a trade surplus of \$27.8 billion in a total trade

**Indian GDP growth is expected to accelerate to 7.4 percent making it the fastest growing large economy in the world.**

of over \$70 billion. More importantly, China looks forward to a major share in India's power generation equipment imports, a huge railway modernization program of \$1 trillion, and India's telecom equipment and construction market.

In saying that the Dragon and Elephant could tango, China's ambassador Le therefore was seeking to downplay their long-standing rivalry and assert that the two countries could complement each other's advantages and help each other move forward.

Speaking to a select audience even as his country carefully scrutinized Prime Minister Modi's visit to the Indian Ocean countries, Le was optimistic:

"The dragon is a totem of the Chinese nation, it is dynamic, peaceful, and docile and implies luck and success. The elephant is loved by Indians, is charmingly naïve, walks with steady gait, and symbolizes auspiciousness and peace."

Modi is scheduled to visit Beijing in May, and Le is positive that the dragon and the elephant can dance. But taking a lesson from the

past, especially the Sino-Indian War in 1962, Modi will be cautious. China's President Xi certainly understands that Modi is not as naïve as the previous Indian Prime Minister. The Dragon and the Elephant will each watch what the other is doing with no blinders on. ■

*Mr. Prabhu is a New Delhi-based senior journalist who has reported events for five decades in national dailies and magazines.*



*BRICS nation leaders in Brazil*



## Report on Libya

# The Clash for Oil

The nation holding the world's 9<sup>th</sup> largest oil reserves has been sliced open by rival factions seeking political control and export revenue

by Ola Wam



**M**IRRED IN divisive conflict, Libya is on the verge of utter implosion. British diplomat Jonathan Powell has expressed his concern that the country could be “turning into a Somalia by the Mediterranean”. With a series of U.N.-sponsored talks failing throughout the first months of 2015, this scenario, with all the risks it implies for Europe and North Africa, is coming closer to reality.

The toppling of authoritarian leader Muammar Gaddafi in 2011 left Libya in pieces. In the fallout, myriad tribes, ethnic groups, urban centers, and Islamists emerged as heirs to the world's ninth largest oil reserves. Their bitter competition for power and survival has become increasingly violent as militias keep mushrooming on the back of government benefits.

After failed parliamentary elections, Libya's fragile democracy has been split between two governments, resulting in a tug-of-war over political legitimacy carried out by armed militia coalitions.

With Libya's status as a major oil exporter to the E.U., oil cash is both the conflict's ammunition and aim. Both sides are funded by oil revenue filtered through the National Transitional Council, yet the ultimate prize of the conflict is unilateral control over the country's vast petroleum resources.

Disrupted levels of output combined with low oil prices are likely to intensify the conflict this spring. The two sides have already escalated the stakes with military strikes at rival production facilities, and efforts at negotiating peace are being frustrated by ambitious militias. If the conflict isn't halted soon, it is going to get a lot worse.

**If the conflict isn't halted soon, it is going to get a lot worse.**

### A Fractured Nation

As is the case in much of Africa, Libya's national identity is a colonial legacy that defies geographic and historical

realities. Whereas the province of Tripolitania in the north-west has, since antiquity, been oriented towards Tunis, Cyrenaica in the east is strongly bound to Egypt. And although the Mediterranean coastline has been urbanized for nearly two millennia, most of Libya's south, including the province of Fezzan, is sparsely populated desert.

After the revolutionary tide swept through in 2011, factions began forming along tribal, urban, and ethnic lines. Libya's provinces became battlegrounds for several distinct and sometimes overlapping conflicts, as archaic non-state entities resurfaced as political actors. Ancient hostilities reemerged in a post-revolution context.

“Without a functioning state in Libya, social networks like tribal affiliations have gained political prominence”, Brian McQuinn, co-editor of *The Libyan Revolution and its Aftermath*, told THE GLOBAL INTELLIGENCE.

In an attempt to gain control, the National Transitional Council (NTC) began funding the various militias. In efforts to integrate them with government security forces, the NTC joined the militias under the Supreme Security Committee (SSC) and the Libya Shield Forces (LSF) umbrellas. But this led to a mushrooming of fighters that eventually outgrew the government's security forces. (See the “Libya's Chess Pieces” sidebar at the end of the article for an analysis of the complex interrelations of the various armed militias in the region.)

“The majority of the armed groups in Libya are on

the government payroll,” says Brian McQuinn, “but are also increasingly diversifying into illegal activities like smuggling and arms trading.” Despite being under formal government authority, the militias operate autonomously. LSF-7 in Benghazi, for example, also operates as the Ra-fallah Sahati Brigade, and about 70 different neighbor-

hood militias operate under the SSC banner in Tripoli.

The various factions are more prone to manipulation than cohesion. The result is a well-armed chess board where the pieces move anarchically, barely distinguishable between black and white sides, and only nominally under the control of either of Libya's two rival governments. Every effort to consolidate them, whether by the NTC or U.N. negotiations, has failed to overcome their many disparate demands.

**As is the case in much of Africa, Libya's national identity is a colonial legacy that defies geographic and historical realities.**



Libyan oil fields



*Libyan revolution refugees in Tunisia*

## Rival Governments

In post-revolution Libya, de facto government authority is held by parliament, from which the executive government is chosen. Islamists form the only ideologically driven factions in parliament; most others are associated with regional networks such as tribes, ethnic groups, and hometowns. Most of these factions are elected as independents.

After Gaddafi's government fell, parliamentary elections were held on July 7, 2012. The General National Congress (GNC) was formed, but by early 2013, the GNC had become divided into two major camps.

## In an attempt to gain control, the National Transitional Council began funding the various militias.

Of its 200 seats, 64 belonged to the National Forces Alliance (NFA), a pragmatic coalition of urban elites and tribes often misleadingly described as 'liberal' by the Western media, in comparison to the Islamist parties such as JCP (see sidebar) and various Salafi groups, which garnered 61 seats. The remaining seats went to regional and ethnic-based independents.

With the appointment of Ali Zeidan as Prime Minister and a cabinet consisting of ministers from both camps in November 2012, a balance of power was reached. But this was disrupted with the Islamist-backed appointment of Nuri Abusahmain as President in June 2013. Abusahmain continuously sought to gain political authority at the expense of Prime Minister Zeidan by exploiting his poorly defined executive powers. To underscore Zeidan's political impotence, Abusahmain had one of his state militias, LROR (see sidebar), kidnap Zeidan in October 2013.

On February 14, 2014, the Libyan National Army (LNA) under General Khalifa Haftar, a returning military defector with suspected ties to the CIA, entered Tripoli and publicly announced the sus-

pension of the GNC with calls for fresh elections. Less than a month later, Zeidan was replaced by Abdullah al-Thani as Prime Minister.

After a disputed voting session on May 4 that year, the Islamist camp announced Ahmed Mateeq as al-Thani's replacement. Two weeks later, militias loyal to the NFA camp tried to forcibly dissolve the GNC

and apprehend Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated ministers of parliament. The NFA camp declared the voting session unlawful, and demanded the re-installment of al-Thani as Prime Minister.

Supported by a Supreme Court ruling, elections to replace the GNC were held June 25. The election, where the Islamist camp fared poorly, was marred by violence and a voter turnout of less than a third of that reached in 2012.

The old Islamist GNC in Tripoli refused to disband. The newly formed parliament, the House of Representatives (HoR), in which the NFA did well, was moved to Tobruk in eastern Libya, with al-Thani's cabinet headquartered in nearby el-Bayda. Meanwhile, the GNC appointed Omar al-Hassi as its Prime Minister in September.

The rival governments of the GNC in Tripoli and the HoR in Tobruk have been in place ever since. The dispute has cut the country in half along existing fault lines and formed two blocs. The clash between them has played out on the ground in fighting by various militias loosely consolidated into Operation Dignity, on the side of the HoR in Tobruk, and Libya Dawn, on the side of the GNC in Tripoli.

The LNA and Libyan air forces launched Operation Dignity in mid-May last year, attacking Ansar al-Sharia and forces associated with the Brotherhood in Benghazi. In response, these militias pooled their forces together with LSF-7 to form the Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries in July. They were later joined by LROR and LSF-Central to form the Libya Dawn.

On November 1, the Cyrenaica Protection Force's Ibrahim Jadhraan rebuffed approaches by Libya Dawn, aligning CPF with Operation Dignity instead. CPF's control over Ras-Lanuf and Es-Sider oil terminals gives them command over nearly half of Libya's oil exports, making them pivotal to the outcome of the conflict.

Although the HoR-Tobruk government is Libya's internationally recognized government, most of the international community has maintained a degree of neutrality. This has not prevented the rival blocs from enjoying foreign patronage by regional adversaries, adding to the risk that Libya might serve as the playground for proxy wars between the region's powers, much as the Third World was divided between Soviet and Western areas during the Cold War.

Qatar has supported Islamist and Misratan militias since the revolution and is now accused of funneling weapons and money to Libya Dawn through

Turkish and Sudanese intermediaries. In September, a Sudanese aircraft carrying weapons was intercepted heading for Matiga airport.

With a common interest in containing the Muslim Brotherhood's regional influence and preventing Qatar from gaining a foothold in North Africa, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia are financing and arming Operation Dignity (including providing armored vehicles). The UAE and Egypt have also conducted airstrikes against Libya Dawn targets—Egypt in response to the beheading of Egyptian citizens by Libya Dawn's ISIS allies.

### Libya Bleeds for Oil

At the heart of the conflict is oil. Revenues from oil and gas sales make up about 80 percent of Libya's GDP and are collected by the Libyan National Oil Corporation (NOC) before being transferred to an account under the Central Bank of Libya (CBL). However, the near-total lack of any legal framework administering the revenue management process has resulted

## The clash between the rival governments GNC in Tripoli and HoR in Tobruk has played out on the ground by various militias.

in government institutions becoming battlegrounds for factions, struggling over the control of public spending, access to positions, and the distribution of public utilities and services such as infrastructure, benefits, and subsidies.

To add to the chaos of a divided country, many institutions are caught up in the factions. "In Libya politics does not spare institutions and there is no real concept of the public servant," Mohsen Derregia, former chairman of the Libyan Investment Authority (LIA), told *Middle East Eye*. "All positions are seen as part of the spoils of political wars—this illustrates the unstable nature of Libyan institutions."

The NOC, CBL, and LIA (Libya's sovereign wealth fund, entrusted with \$60-65 billion), have retained a fragile autonomy from the rival governments, making it possible to pay militias and civil servants on both sides. However, given their status as the repository of oil revenues, the two rival blocs began vying for control of these organizations.

"No matter who controls the oil, the revenue is controlled by the Central Bank which is paying the



*Shabat residents protesting the GNC in February, 2014*

salaries of both sides,” says Brian McQuinn. “This is why both sides are striving to have more direct control over the sources of those revenues.”

Last September, Tobruk sacked CBL Governor Saddek Omar al-Kaber after he blocked a \$65 million funding transfer, and replaced him with Ali el-Hibri. But refusing to accept Tobruk’s decision, Tripoli continues to recognize al-Kaber as the CBL Governor. Then at the OPEC meeting in Vienna on November 27, 2014, Tobruk’s representative announced Mabruk Abu-Saif as replacement for NOC Chairman Mustafa

of two branches of the CBL, el-Hibri told *The Financial Times*. Operation Dignity took control of the second branch, located in Benghazi, in January.

“As the international community could easily freeze their assets, it’s problematic to just take over the Central Bank,” McQuinn says. “Basically, whichever side wins the recognition as Libya’s legitimate government will inherit control of the Central Bank.”

In December, Libya Dawn launched ‘Operation Sunrise’ to capture the oil terminals at Ras-Lanuf, Es-Sider, Marsa el-Brega, and Zueitina, through which the bulk of Libya’s oil is exported. The offensive was rebuffed by Operation Dignity, but after a raid on Es-Sider, a depot was set ablaze by Operation Sunrise and the terminal put out of action. A ceasefire was called in mid-January, but fighting has since resumed.

Although Tobruk has won the authority to block unauthorized exports out of Tripoli-controlled oil fields, Tripoli in March instead accused Tobruk of illegally exporting oil under the table.

Because all revenue must go through the CBL, seizing oil facilities does not give Tripoli a revenue inflow. It does, however, give them leverage against

## Central Bank coffers have been heavily hit, and this risks hurtling the country further into turmoil.

Sanalla. Tripoli, however, continues to recognize Sanalla as NOC Chairman. Despite these factional disputes, however, the rival chairmen have cooperated on maintaining oil production.

As the revenue account is controlled by the CBL in Tripoli, the Tobruk government has had to manage its budgets by selling Treasury bills to local banks. Tobruk therefore aimed to set up a collection system where oil revenues are channeled through the second

Tobruk. After repeated attacks, Libya Dawn gained control of the Bahi and Mabruk oil fields in March. Meanwhile in the south, Tubus and Tuaregs, long-standing tribal enemies allied with Tobruk and Tripoli respectively, are in recurrent clashes over the south-western Sharara and Elephant oil fields.

Beyond actual control of production facilities, leverage can be gained by disrupting oil output through sabotage. In mid-February, a bomb destroyed a pipeline transporting oil from the Sarir field, Libya's largest, to the Hariga terminal. "There was an implicit agreement between the different factions to avoid disrupting oil production," London-based geopolitical analyst, Richard Mallinson told *The Wall Street Journal*. But the conflict has escalated. "Now the parties have realized that controlling oil means power."

### Escalation or Negotiation

Though oil production resumed at 900,000 barrels per day in October, Operation Sunrise cut output to about 325,000 barrels in January. As foreign oil person-

nel fled the country, the NOC warned that continuing attacks would cause a brain-drain that could halt Libyan production completely.

Oil prices around \$135 per barrel, at undisrupted production levels, are needed to balance Libya's national budgets, IMF chief for Libya Mohammed El Qorchi told *The Financial Times*. The fall in oil prices

**"I have no control over Libya Dawn militias," Prime Minister Omar al-Hassi recently admitted.**

from around \$100 per barrel in August to less than \$50 in January, combined with decreased output levels, left the Libya with a 2014 budget deficit of \$18.6 billion.

Dependent on oil revenues for 95 percent of exports and 75 percent of government budgets, CBL coffers have been heavily hit. As the militias all receive funding directly from the CBL, this risks hurtling the country further into turmoil. "In the short run, it might intensify the conflict as various groups see a limited window of opportunity to affect the outcome of the conflict, before money and ammo run out," Jeff D. Col-



*Dath al-Imad towers, Tripoli*

gan, author of *Petro-Aggression: When Oil Causes War* told THE GLOBAL INTELLIGENCE.

Peace talks failed in Geneva and Ghedames, but with Tobruk financially starving and the Misrata commercial elite desperate to end this unprofitable conflict, delegates from the rival governments met again in March for U.N.-facilitated peace negotiations in Morocco.

However, negotiations face major obstacles to bring about peace on the ground. Both governments have little control over their militias and are unable to hold allied groups at bay. “I have no control over Libya Dawn militias,” Prime Minister Omar al-Hassi recently admitted in a press conference. Although government officials hold formal power, it is the men with the guns who have the last word.

The rival blocs are anything but internally unified. “Each ‘side’ is actually made up of hundreds of distinct political and military actors,” says Brian McQuinn. A fracture is brewing in Libya Dawn between Misratan elites favoring negotiations and Islamist hardliners rejecting them. A January 27 attack by an ISIS-affiliated militia targeting Tripoli’s Corinthia Hotel, frequented by Westerners and Tripoli officials, underscores the fracture that could eventually spawn intra-Islamist conflict.

Gains on the ground have encouraged LNA’s General Haftar to seek a military solution, and he shows little intention of following allied Tobruk in a negotiated settlement. The ill feelings between Tobruk and the higher echelons of Operation Dignity were on display in February when, according to *Al Jazeera*, Minister of Interior Omar al-Sinki called for Haftar to be marginalized.

With military actors attempting to spoil a negotiated peace, the ultimate objectives of negotiations is to extract “the moderates from the spoilers and allow the formation of an anti-extremist coalition,” Libya analyst Jason Pack argues in *Al Jazeera*.

One other possibility remains. Bernardino Leon, chief of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya, has indicated that putting oil revenues into an escrow account and freezing Libyan assets overseas could force potential disruptors to the negotiation table by depriving them of financing until such time as the conflicts are settled and a unified Libya emerges.

A recent E.U. discussion paper reached the same conclusion, suggesting an oil embargo and freezing Libyan assets. However, it pointed out the detrimental side-effects frozen assets could have on the Libyan economy and its people as the militias become desperate and ammunition takes priority over food. But in the face of further conflict, few other options remain. ■

## Libya’s Chess Pieces

Of Libya’s 140 tribes, between 30 and 50 have emerged as important political forces in post-revolution Libya, with militias and representation in government. Libya’s largest tribe is the Warfalla, but one of the currently most influential is the Zintan tribe.

Networks associated with urban centers gained prominence during the revolution, when urban elites financed militias and established themselves as political agents. Prominent families and tribes in Benghazi set up a paramilitary from the remnants of local security forces, and in Misrata the commercial elite organized several militias—currently with a combined force of around 40,000 fighters—into the Libyan Shield Forces Central (LSF-Central).

In Tripolitania, where Gaddafi had his largest support base, the old conflict between revolutionaries and regime loyalists overlaps with tribal and urban fault lines. The siege of Bani Walid by LSF-Central in October 2012 revealed tribal dynamics: the urban center of Misrata allied with Zawiyah and Farjan tribes in the coastal north against the Zintan, Warfalla, and other tribes from further south. The division recalls the intertribal wars of 1936.

In addition, a report by the Washington Institute in November of last year highlighted the ethnic-political divides created by the fall of Gaddafi’s regime. After the revolution, ethnic minorities, such as the Amazigh (Berber) of the Nafusa Mountains and the Tubu and Tuareg in southern Libya, have attained a degree of de facto self-rule through political and military organization.

In Libya’s south, desertification has pushed the Tubu north, leading to tensions with the Amazigh and Tuareg populations, as well as with the Arab Zawiyah tribe. The fall of Gaddafi allowed the Tubu to establish dominance in southern Libya. Tensions have erupted in several armed clashes between Tubu and other tribal forces, like the Tuareg, often over the control of smuggling and trafficking routes.

In wealthier Cyrenaica, the site of two-thirds of Libya’s oil production and three-quarters of its reserves, the demand for regional autonomy has united tribal, urban elite, and ethnic interests. These have been channeled through regionalist movements like the Political Bureau of Cyrenaica, which has its own armed wing, the Cyrenaica Protection Force (CPF), led by Ibrahim Jadhnan.

Control over oil flow in Libya gives great political leverage. In August 2013, CPF closed eastern oil terminals, cutting Libya’s export by 500,000 barrels per day. In March 2014, they attempted to illegally sell 234,000 barrels of oil. Exports were not resumed until July 2014 after promises were made to Cyrenaican groups that federalism would be integrated into the constitution. However, federalism is strongly opposed by Libya’s Islamists, as well

as western tribes and urban centers.

Libya is a primarily Muslim nation, but only about half of the factions espouse Islamist values over other political aims. The Islamist movement, concentrated in the west, tends to downplay regional, ethnic, tribal, and urban affiliations and instead highlight Islam as a common unifying denominator. Islam has been a mobilizing force in Libya since Omar Mukhtar led the liberation movement

## Libya is a primarily Muslim nation, but only about half of the factions espouse Islamist values over other political aims.

against the Italian colonizers before the First World War.

Libya's Islamists are a disparate group, however, varying from the moderate to the more radical. The Muslim Brotherhood has been present in Libya since 1949, albeit outlawed for much of that time. The Brotherhood is a cohesive organization, sporting its own political party, the Justice and Construction Party (JCP), and is associated with its own militias.

Libya's ultra-orthodox Salafi movement gained footing in the 1960s and waged a low-intensity conflict

against Gaddafi in the 1990s. But they are now mostly associated with other militias. Ansar al-Sharia is a prominent Salafi militia with roots in the revolution and was behind the 2012 attack on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi. Ansar al-Sharia has been in a violent power struggle with another group in Benghazi since November 2013.

With the dividing of the government in late 2012, the state-affiliated paramilitary organizations ended up answering to whoever could pull their strings. Among these paramilitaries are the Libya Revolutionaries Operations Room (LRO) allied with the GNC in Tripoli, the Libyan National Army (LNA) allied with HoR in Tobruk, and the Petroleum Forces Guard (PFG) which is tasked with guarding Libya's oil infrastructure.

This only scratches the surface of the plethora of armed groups active in Libya today and the complexity of their interactions, and points to the quasi-impossibility of fully understanding the current situation. Indeed, it is doubtful whether even the major Libyan players are entirely certain of why and how events are playing out. ■

*Mr. Wam is a freelance journalist with an M.A. in Security Studies from the University of Birmingham and an M.Phil. in Political Science from the University of Oslo. He can be contacted at [ola\\_wam@hotmail.com](mailto:ola_wam@hotmail.com).*



*Fighters near the town of Ras Lanuf during the revolution*

# South Asia's Islamic State

ISIS recruitment campaigns seek allegiances in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and even India

by Animesh Roul

**T**HERE ARE THOSE who want a second Islamic State, one encompassing Afghanistan, Pakistan, and parts of Central Asia and India. In January, Abu Muhammad al Adnani, a chief spokesperson of ISIS, announced the establishment of “Wilayat Khurasan”, an imaginary territory made up of those nations within South Asia.

The 2014 push by the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) to establish a caliphate marked a definite shift in the Jihadist landscape previously dominated by Al-Qaeda. Unhindered almost until now, the successful rise of ISIS under the leadership of Abu-Bakr al-Baghdadi, the self-proclaimed Caliph Ibrahim, has given the organization enough clout to push the ideals of the Islamic State (I.S.) in other Muslim-dominated regions.

ISIS first began outreach efforts in South Asia to acquire recruits and resources for its battles in Iraq and Syria. Several Muslim youths from India, Pakistan, the Maldives, and Bangladesh have reportedly travelled to fight under the I.S. banner in Iraq and Syria. Since June 2014, the call of ISIS has not only resonated within the region's myriad militant groups, it has also reached many unconnected individuals through propaganda disseminated on social media.

The January announcement of the formation of Wilayat Khurasan, an ‘Islamic State of South Asia’,

may be wishful, but it marks a new direction for recruitment efforts. ISIS is not only seeking to draw young soldiers to its side but to empower them to spread its cause in other regions. Adnani announced that the new I.S. province would be headed by Hafiz Saeed Khan, a former Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan commander, who earlier released a video message pledging allegiance to the I.S. along with at least 100 Taliban fighters. The video also showed the beheading of a Pakistan army

**ISIS is not only seeking to draw young soldiers to its side but to empower them to spread its cause in other regions.**

soldier. Adnani stated that Khan fulfilled all necessary conditions to become the governor of the so-called I.S. Khurasan province of South Asia.

## The ‘Af-Pak ISIS’

Khan and his fellow jihadists released the gruesome oath-taking video in early January as one of the newly splintered groups emerging from the dis-

integration of the Pakistan Taliban last year. The beheading carried out by Saeed Khan and others, perhaps the first anti-Pakistan operation by the I.S. Khurasan, marked the arrival of the ISIS brand of violent jihad in the region.

Concerns aired by a U.N. envoy recently about I.S. inroads into Afghanistan were not misplaced. The Islamic State has established a substantial support base in Afghanistan, where Al-Qaeda and Taliban leaders are struggling to remain relevant in the face of I.S.'s growing stature in the Levant region and beyond. The

### **Al-Salafi is reportedly involved in an ISIS recruitment campaign and is charging ISIS about \$600 per person.**

black flags of I.S. have been hoisted in the Ghazni and Nimroz provinces of Afghanistan. Hundreds of Taliban Mujahideen have reportedly switched allegiances to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and the Islamic State.

The Taliban has fought against losing ground in Afghanistan. Direct confrontations occurred in the Kajaki district between supporters of the Islamic State and followers of Taliban warlord Abdul Rahim Akhund in January.

Before the formalization of Wilayat Khurasan, Pakistan was at the periphery of I.S. influence. There were occasional ISIS flags and graffiti in support of I.S. ideals, as well as verbal support from radical clerics like Maulana Abdul Aziz, who urged Taliban militants to pledge their allegiance to the Islamic State. Lesser-known extremist organizations, like the Tahreek-e-Khilafat Wa Jihad (Movement for the Caliphate and Jihad - TKJ), as well as anti-Shiite militant groups, such as Jundullah, expressed support for ISIS and al-Baghdadi. ISIS even received support from established sectarian groups like Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Ahl-e-Sunnat Wal Jamaat.

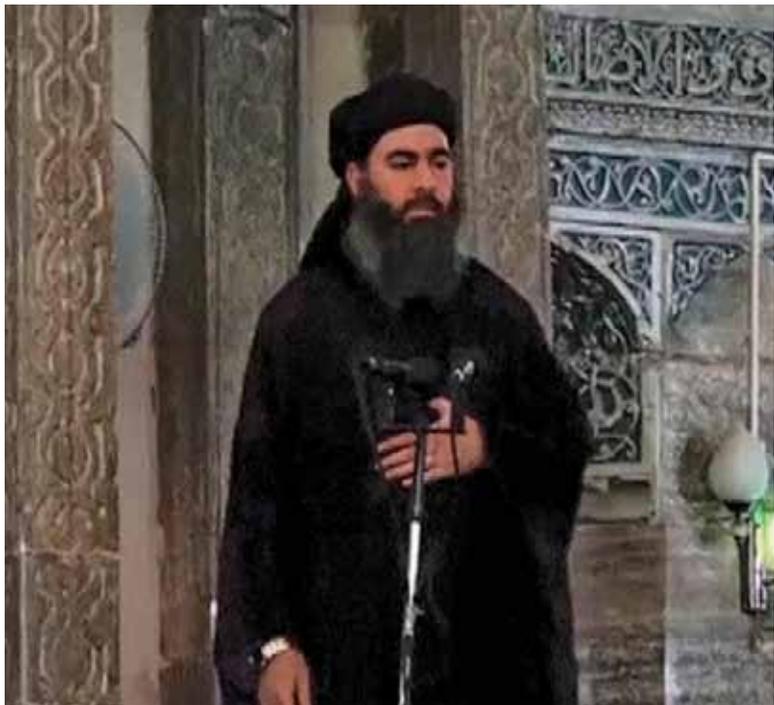
However, the unearthing of an ISIS recruitment drive in Pakistan raised eyebrows in security circles. Unconfirmed reports suggest that

by October, ISIS had recruited thousands of youths from the Hangu and Kurram regions. Pakistani agencies arrested Yousaf al-Salafi, from Lahore, on January 20 for recruiting youths and sending them abroad for jihad. Al-Salafi, a Syrian of Pakistani origin, was reportedly involved in an ISIS recruitment campaign and charging ISIS about \$600 per person.

### **The Expansion of the Islamic State**

The existence of a dedicated I.S. unit in Afghanistan and Pakistan raises the threat of a consolidated front for the jihadi organizations in the region. The number of recent arrests and detentions of Islamic State supporters and sympathizers at airports and elsewhere in the neighboring Maldives, Bangladesh, and India have shown the reach of grassroots radical Islam in the region. The growing presence of an official I.S. in South Asia can only make it worse.

The Maldives have experienced a series of jihadi-related departures since October 2013, when young Maldivians began travelling to Syria and Iraq to participate in the civil war alongside jihadist formations like Jabhat al Nusra and the earlier incarnation of ISIS. By late October 2014, at least six people, including a family of four from Raa Atoll, had travelled to ISIS-held territory in Syria and Iraq from the Maldives.



*Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, ISIS' leader in Iraq*



*ISIS promotional photograph*

Social media's role in the radicalization process in the Maldives remains noteworthy. A number of pro-Islamic State Facebook and Twitter pages have urged young Maldivian Muslims to "strive for the caliphate and to stand up against the [the country's] existing democratic system of governance". I.S. influence reached the Maldivian shores through social media websites, for instance the "Islamic State of Maldives" (ISM) Facebook group, whose members claim to be

## The I.S. footprint in South Asia suggests that there is immense traction for its ideology in the region.

affiliated with the Islamic State. The flag of the I.S. was hoisted in the Malé's Raalhugandu area by unidentified individuals in July that year. I.S. flags were also seen during an early August protest march in the capital, Malé, against the Israeli offensive on Gaza City. The following month, pro-Islamist hardliners descended on the streets of Malé holding I.S. flags and banners, calling for the implementation of Sharia law in the country. Some of the banners read: "We want the laws of the Quran, not the green book [Maldivian constitution]," "Islam will eradicate secularism," "No democracy, we

want just Islam," and "Sharia will dominate the world."

In Bangladesh, established Islamist groups like the Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh and more radical and violent Ansarullah Bangla Team are believed to be in contact with I.S. leaders. Footage also emerged in 2014 showing Bangladeshi nationals fighting in Syria, and youths declaring their allegiance to al-Baghdadi. In September last year, Bangladesh police arrested a Bangladeshi-Briton recruiter for ISIS, identified as Samiun Rahman, on terror charges. Rahman was reportedly in the country to recruit volunteers for jihad in Syria and Iraq. His interrogations led to the arrest of at least five suspected militants, including members of the Ansarullah Bangla Team.

Fresh evidence of the Islamic State's inroads into Bangladesh came on January 19, when police detained Sakhawatul Kabir, along with three other people, in possession of incriminating documents and a laptop containing jihadi information. Kabir was subsequently identified as the regional commander of the Islamic State's operations in Bangladesh, while his associate Anwar Hossain was identified as the group's local financier.

### How Far Can it Reach?

Even in India, sporadic incidents, like the waving of I.S. flags and masked men wearing shirts with I.S. insignias, were noticed in Kashmir and Tamil Nadu

between July and October 2014. Before that, in May, four Indian engineering students travelled to Iraq via a third country to join ISIS forces. Areeb Majeed, a radicalized youth, who returned to India recently, confessed to having undergone training in suicide bombing. While the remaining three youths are still inside the war zone, this event demonstrated I.S.'s growing support base in India.

At the same time, Indian security officials arrested business executive Mehdi Mashroor Biswas in mid-December for running a pro-I.S. Twitter account. It was being used for incitement and propaganda targeting Muslim youths wanting to join the Caliphate. Moreover, al-Baghdadi's call was endorsed by well-known Sunni cleric Maulana Salman Nadwi in India. And in Tamil Nadu, imam Faizur Rahman facilitated an I.S. campaign in the Southern Indian state by procuring, printing, and distributing materials in support of the Islamic State.

In addition to these supporters for the cause of I.S., there is an increasing threat of lone wolves in the region. I.S. and Al-Qaeda have both encouraged the idea of fighting solo against Western nationals and properties as a way to instill fear. Such concerns have intensified in India after the arrest of Anees Ansari in Mumbai in October. He confessed he had attempted a knife attack on a U.S. national to get support and sympathy from ISIS. Ansari too had reportedly collected details from the Internet about 'Flame Throwers' and 'Thermite' bombs and hinted at a plot to target U.S. establishments, including a school in Mumbai.

Although the transnational jihadi group continues to find supporters in the region, I.S. has known major setbacks as well. Three top regional commanders have been killed in separate incidents, two in Afghanistan and one in Syria. The regional jihadi forces are also divided, largely on operational and ideological grounds, between the Islamic State and Al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda announced a South Asian branch in the Indian subcontinent in September and has been increasingly focusing on long-term consolidations in order to dominate the militant Islamist discourse in the subcontinent.

Between I.S. and Al-Qaeda influences, however, the risk is only growing. The I.S. footprint in South Asia suggests that there is immense traction for its ideology in the region. With its massive outreach efforts using social networks and releasing propaganda materials to galvanize support, I.S. has gained significant momentum within a short span of time. The Pakistan-Afghanistan border region is at risk of becoming another I.S. conflict situation, and the Islamic State of Khurasan is likely only the beginning. With the absence of regional cohesion among governments, especially on a unified counterterrorism strategy, there is an increasing risk of I.S. establishing pockets of influence in South Asian countries. ■

*Mr. Roul is a New-Delhi-based public policy analyst, with specializations in counterterrorism, radical Islam, terror financing, issues relating to armed conflict and violence.*



*ISIS recruitment video*



# Death on Europe's Doorstep

The migrant body count on the Mediterranean far surpasses the toll of terrorism, but the E.U. has abdicated its humanitarian responsibility

by Alexander H. Maurice

In 2014, a record 3,419 migrants died off the southern coasts of Europe while trying to cross the Mediterranean from the Middle East and North Africa. This statistic was released by the U.N. agency for refugees last December.

As the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) pointed out, this makes the southern European border the deadliest crossing in the world. In comparison, fewer than 500 people die each year attempting to cross into the United States from Mexico, according to Mexico's Secretariat of Foreign Affairs. Worse still, the situation in North Africa has led the International Organization for Migration (IOM) to warn that the body count on the Mediterranean could be even higher in 2015.

These tragic numbers were announced as the Italian navy ended its Mare Nostrum rescue strategy, which was launched in 2013 to reduce the number of migrant deaths following two disasters off its shores in October of that year. The European Council on Refugees and Exiles estimates Mare Nostrum had saved around 150,000 people on the seas during its one-year mandate.

## Passing the Responsibility

Mare Nostrum has now been replaced by E.U. border protection agency Frontex's Operation Triton. Due to dependence on the voluntary contributions of reluctant E.U. members, however, this Triton is down to a third of the operating budget of Mare Nostrum, with resources of just \$3 million a month. Triton has fewer and smaller vessels and a mandate to stay within 30 miles of the Italian coast in order to focus on border security rather than reaching farther into the Mediterranean, as Mare Nostrum had done.

Triton may save money, but the cost will be in human lives. At a major conference on migration in Geneva, Zeid Raad al-Hussein, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, condemned Europe's response to the tragedies on Europe's doorstep:

"The lack of concern that we see in many countries for the suffering and exploitation of such desperate people is deeply shocking. Rich countries must not become gated communities, their people averting their eyes from the bloodstains in the driveway."

**Triton may save money, but the cost will be in human lives.**

Britain has ignored this condemnation, claiming that search and rescue missions only encourage more migrants to attempt the journey. London and has stated that it would not support any future rescue operations beyond a single technical expert that it supplied to Triton.

coming from a war-torn Syria and a destabilized Libya. The unrest in these regions has invariably led to a spike in migration. As a Frontex report points out, “The eruption of civil unrest in Tunisia and Libya in 2011 created a massive spike in the number of migrants.” This is on top of the larger numbers of migrants fleeing Afghanistan, Somalia, and similarly less fortunate parts of North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East.

## The migrant camps in France are worse than migrant camps in Turkey, according to the UNHCR.

António Guterres, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees rejected Britain's position: “If entire families are risking their lives at sea today, it's because they have already lost everything else and see no other option to find safety.”

In addition to the atrocious human cost of the downgraded Mediterranean mission, there is also a hidden economic cost, according to a report released by Frontex itself:

“Some 30 percent of all migrants rescued at sea were picked up by civilian shipping—the vast majority of them, 52 incidents, off the coast of Libya. The smugglers have learned to time the departure of migrant boats so that they cross the paths of merchant ships heading for the E.U. When a distress call is transmitted, the merchant ship, being the nearest, is obliged by international maritime law to go to the rescue.”

The failure of the E.U. to stick to the operational capacity of the Mare Nostrum mission will lead to an even greater portion of the cost falling on shipping industries. This is in stark contrast to Britain's claims that search and rescue missions simply encourage more migrants to attempt the journey. Instead, traffickers have merely adapted strategies, and the financial cost is being transferred from the state to private industry while the E.U. sidesteps the blame.

This comes at a time when there are growing numbers of migrants

The hardships for migrants do not end when they cross the Mediterranean into Europe. For some migrants that is just one more stage in a difficult journey from sub-Saharan Africa or Syria. Some migrants' journeys continue in an attempt to reach the stronger economies in the north—and many of those attempting to enter the U.K. end up in camps in Calais, one of the border-crossings from northern France. (See our

## Interior Troubles



*Zeid Raad al-Hussein, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights*

## Death on Europe's Doorstep

photojournalism piece “Limbo” in this issue.)

The migrant camps in Calais are deplorable, with conditions otherwise unfamiliar in developed nations. The director of the UNHCR has described the situation as “totally unacceptable”; 15 migrants died on French soil in Calais last year. UNHCR's Vincent Cochetel has stated that the migrant camps in France are worse than migrant camps in Turkey, where hundreds of thousands arrive each month escaping the war in Syria. Despite being in the heart of Europe, the French and British governments have yet to respond. The U.K. has only added to this shameful blot on its conscience by withdrawing support from those drowning in the Mediterranean.

The political argument for strict border controls in the 21st century has focused on the risk posed by terrorism. In the wake of the Charlie Hebdo shootings, attention in the E.U. has invariably turned towards security and tighter borders, yet there has been little acknowledgment that the two attackers were both French citizens born in Paris.

### **Only seven people died in Europe in 2013 due to terrorism, but more than 600 people died in the Mediterranean attempting to cross into Europe.**

According to the European Police Office's European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT) from 2014, more than half of those arrested on terrorism-related offenses were E.U. citizens—which matches the statistics from previous reports. Of those arrested who were not EU citizens, the vast majority were on legitimate visas or residencies.

In addition, the figures from 2013 reveal a terrible comparison. Only seven people died in Europe in 2013 due to terrorism, according to TE-SAT, but more than 600 people died in the Mediterranean attempting to cross into Europe during the same time frame, according to the UNHCR. And yet anti-terrorism spending remains disproportionately high. France alone will spend over \$800 million in the next three years on anti-terrorism efforts, but the entire E.U.'s budget for Mediterranean rescue operations is less than \$36 million a year.

This spending is shockingly at odds with the human cost. While the 12 deaths in Paris are a tragedy, it is important not to let these untimely deaths lead to even more in the Mediterranean by coldly tightening Europe's southern border.

## Slim Hope

One step forward would be creating legal channels for refugees to enter Europe, as Germany and Sweden have done. The two nations have committed to accept 65,000 and 40,000 Syrian refugees respectively. However, this stance has not been taken up throughout Europe, with the U.K. accepting only 500 Syrian refugees and other prominent European nations accepting none or next to none.

Accepting even some refugees from Syria can alleviate the pressure on Syrian migrants to attempt the dangerous Mediterranean crossing, but the numbers that have been allowed in are only a very small percentage of the 3 million displaced Syrians who have fled the conflict. In addition, the strategy offers nothing to those fleeing other desperate states, such as Libya and Eritrea, from which a large percentage of Mediterranean migrants hail.

The failures of Operation Triton have been widely noted. Since the start of this year, the U.N.

High Commissioner for Human Rights, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the Director General of the IOM, and the Council of Europe's Commissioner for Human Rights have all called for Europe as a whole to improve their Mediterranean rescue operations. And

with the death toll expected to climb, changes are desperately needed.

Triton should return to a Mare-Nostrum-style rescue operation rather than its border-focused mandate, and the entire E.U. shoulder responsibility rather than a single state as was the case before. At the same time, by opening doors to asylum seekers, Europe could do more to stem the flow of desperate migrants taking unsafe steps to enter Europe.

Operation Triton's narrow focus on border security rather than on saving lives is as depressing as it is misguided. And it is not that the E.U. is unaware of the human cost of its new operation. Thousands will die this year that could be saved, and these deaths will weigh heavily on Europe's conscience, staining its claim to moral superiority. ■

*Mr. Maurice is a writer, journalist, and artist. He has an M.A. from the University of Toronto in Medieval Studies and resides in London, U.K.*



## Limbo

Migrants seeking to enter the U.K. wait in derelict camps in the French port town of Calais

Photojournalism by James Forde



**I**N 2002, the Sangatte refugee camp near the French port town of Calais was closed after only three years. The fate of the camp, which was home to between 800 and

2,000 asylum seekers at any given time, was a point of contention between French and British authorities. Official figures show that after the closure in 2002, the number of illegal immigrants entering the U.K. via Calais dropped by 88 percent—from 10,000 in 2002 to 1,500 in 2006. The Dublin Regulation states that a refugee must seek asylum in the first safe European country that they arrive in, but Britain is the preferred country of many asylum seekers, as they already speak English and are under the impression that they will more easily find work there.

Red Cross, but there are once again large numbers in makeshift camps near Calais. Several squatted-in buildings have been opened with the help of an activist organization called No Borders, and several camps known as “Jungles” have been erected around the city. Currently, the largest communities are Sudanese, Eritreans, and Afghans.

**The official camp closed 13 years ago, taking with it the aid and humanitarian work of the French Red Cross.**

The gap from Calais to Dover is 33 km. While this may seem like a short distance to some, in this case it separates worlds, leaving many souls in limbo.

Calais has always had problems with asylum seekers, but in 2014 there was a huge influx of new arrivals. The official camp closed 13 years ago, taking with it the aid and humanitarian work of the French

*Mr. Forde is a freelance photojournalist born and raised in Ireland. He has recently worked in Guatemala, Mexico, and Ukraine.*



*Young migrants lie on a hill overlooking the port of Calais in the hope of an opportunity to jump into one of the trucks heading for the U.K.*



*Recently Libya opened its borders, allowing thousands of Africans to attempt the crossing to Italy and the Schengen region by boat. The largest communities were Eritreans and Sudanese, who are predominantly Islamic.*



*The Eritrean “Jungle” lies on a wasteland used by neighboring Huntsman Tioxide, a large scale chemical producer, but still the migrants find a way to continue living.*



*Rain falls in the Sudanese “Jungle”, which is home to approximately 300 men.*



## Hiding a Crisis

India cannot overturn the rapist mentality by curtailing free expression

by Mahendra Ved



SHE WAS symbolically named ‘Nirbhaya’, one who is unafraid, since Indian law does not permit naming a rape victim. The Western media, not governed by any such law, printed her name, and her fate became known across the world. Yet though statistics suggest a woman is raped every 21 minutes in India, many in that country would like nothing more than to leave the terrible tragedy and international embarrassment behind. But twenty-seven months after her infamous gang rape and death, Nirbhaya is once again in the news.

In March, the BBC aired *India’s Daughter*, a documentary film about the incident and the unprecedented street protests it triggered. In India, the documentary was, controversially, banned. The official reason is specious. Proponents of the documentary say their nation needs to see it. Opponents say their country is being singled out for a crime that, though tragic, is a common global phenomenon.

### *India’s Daughter*

Records show that since 1959, India’s Central Board for Film Certification has banned, either initially or permanently, 24 films, for reasons ranging from political overtones to spreading superstition to explicit sexual content to depicting India and/or Indians in a poor light. Surrounded by arguments in Parliament, public protests, and a media storm, *India’s Daughter* became the 25th.

**One of the assailants argues in his interview that a “good” girl had no business being out of her home at that hour with a boy.**

As soon as the BBC film was banned, it went viral on the Internet. It was not aired in India, but the ban has given it global circulation, adding to the consternation in India and sharply dividing public opinion.

The documentary, made by British filmmaker Leslee Udwin, follows up on the December 2012 gang-rape of a New Delhi woman who was out seeing a film

with a male colleague and unsuspectingly boarded an off-duty bus. The man was badly beaten and the girl was raped and tortured by those riding the bus. She died in a Singapore hospital some days later.

Spontaneous protests erupted, with thousands of young people marching in the streets and braving po-

## The government's decision to ban the film was "wholly unwarranted", said the Editors Guild of India.

lice sticks and tear gas for several days to make their feelings known. Women's safety became a major issue, and Delhi earned the sobriquet of India's "crime capital". It added to the many reasons the Delhi government and, later, the federal government of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, lost their recent elections.

In 2013, Udwin was allowed access to those on trial for the incident. The official reason for banning the film is because of statements made in it by one of the convicts.

Mukesh Singh, one of the six assailants, argues in his interview that a "good" girl had no business being out of her home at that hour with a boy. She should not have resisted the rape, he says, and had she borne the attack on her in silence, she would not have been tortured and injured. Singh shows no remorse for his actions.

While Singh's statements can be dismissed—coming from the mind of a semi-literate criminal—his assertions echo those of his two lawyers, M.L. Sharma and A.P. Singh, who are also interviewed on camera. Their failed defense used an argument that is regrettably common in India and around the world: they attempted to justify the rape by blaming the victim.

A Deputy Commissioner of Police in New Delhi said the ban was put in place because the interview excerpts "are highly offensive and have already created a situation of tension and fear among women in

society". Justifying the ban on the film and judicial action against Udwin, Parliamentary Affairs Minister M. Venkiah Naidu alleged it was part of "an international conspiracy to defame India".

Arguing against the government's ban, the Editors Guild of India, a body of professional media leaders, said that the documentary "portrays the courage, sensitivity, and liberal outlook of a family traumatised by the brutality inflicted on the daughter, the continuing shameful attitudes towards women among the convicts, as well as the educated, including lawyers, and multiple voices in support of women's freedom and dignity".

The Guild said the government's decision was "wholly unwarranted, based as it is on a misunderstanding of the power and the message behind it, without viewing the film in its entirety". It appealed to the Government of India to revoke the ban forthwith and enable people to view a positive and powerful documentary touching on the freedom, dignity, and safety of women.

Instead, a Delhi High Court directive sought to extend the ban outside India, which turned counter-



*Leslie Udwin*



*Candlelight march for Nirbhaya*

productive in this Internet-savvy era. India faced further ignominy by being defied by the BBC, and the controversy only increased world-wide awareness of the documentary, leading to a celebrity première in the U.S., where those attending said the rape victim “is also our daughter”.

## **A Delhi High Court directive sought to extend the ban outside India.**

### **India's Image**

The Modi government's response was a knee-jerk reaction to the controversy. The blame game between the Information Ministry, the Delhi government, the Delhi Police, and the Tihar Jail authorities over who first permitted the interview to take place only made it worse.

The interview with Mukesh Singh, whose death sentence is currently being appealed, was the first by a journalist with the convicted men. It will likely be the last.

The government's handling of the film's controversy was as dire as that of the previous government. India has a long record of banning books, plays, paintings, and films because they might upset people, as it is claimed this film could. But the government has also often banned art simply for reflecting negatively on Indian culture. Many fear Indian authorities are trying to hide the ugly truth about crimes against women in their country.

India has thus invited global criticism for working against free expression. For a democracy, it already has a bad record in this regard. Newspaper editorials roundly criticized the government, saying there was nothing vulgar or objectionable in the film.

But no matter the reason for the ban, the film has lost allies because of its negative portrayal of Indian culture. For many, the film unfairly draws a one-sided picture of the rape crisis in India. Critics point to a higher conviction rate for rapes in India than in most of Europe—24 percent compared to 7 percent in Udwin's own U.K., which had 78,000 reported rapes last year.

Opponents say the film reveals little that is new either about the crime or the mindset of the men convicted of it; the media had already reported on

the rape in detail. There is also nothing surprising in Mukesh's assertions. For him the interview may have been a desperate attempt to blame others in hopes it might allow him reprieve.

Instead of giving a voice to the loathsome arguments of a rapist and murderer, it is argued, the film could have focused on the shift in the public mindset in the wake of the infamous incident. It might have recalled the 1972 case of Mathura, a nurse who was raped by a ward-boy in the hospital where she worked, and how this case led to legal reforms. As with Mathura, after the December 2012 protests the Nirbhaya case may lead to positive change.

There has been animated debate on whether such crimes should still be punished with the death sentence or whether this penalty does actually help to curb rape. Some women's groups have cautioned against the death penalty for rapists, arguing that it could lead to attackers killing their victims to escape identification and, therefore, the death sentence.

There are further twists in the debate. The boy who invited Nirbhaya and her friend to board the bus was then a minor. India has also argued over whether defendants in this and other such cases should be subject to the compassionate laws for juveniles or tried as adults.

### Udwin's Message

Positive change requires public awareness, however. The biggest question in the case of *India's Daughter* is why the authorities attempted to censor

**The biggest question in the case of *India's Daughter* is why the authorities attempted to censor the documentary.**

the documentary. Was it to prevent the convict from spreading his hateful message? Or was it to try and hide India's rampant misogyny? The government may be able to make the case its censorship was due to the fear of street protests, but there is little other plausible excuse.

Writing in *The Guardian*, Ian Jack has an explanation. He suggests Indians have a problem, "not

with the message, but with the messenger":

"The row about Udwin's film, *India's Daughter*, calls to mind the way Gandhi dealt with the sickening accounts of child bride abuse in Katherine Mayo's 1927

**Some lawmakers have recently given their unsolicited counsel and threats to women on how they should dress and move in public.**

book, *Mother India*. Governments hate to hear the truth from an outsider."

He recalls the outrage the book caused in India, then a British colony, and among the liberal classes in England with its descriptions of the treatment of Indian women and "untouchables". Mahatma Gandhi, however, lambasted the book for its biased, patronizing and one-sided approach, which concentrated solely on the problems of Indian society as an argument against granting the country self-rule.

The anger in Parliament over the documentary, however, also reflects India's widely prevalent male chauvinism. Politicians have time and again made similar statements to those of Mukesh Singh. Some lawmakers have recently given their unsolicited counsel, threats, and diktats to women on how they should dress and move in public, who they should marry, and how many children they should produce. These are the perceptions held by many in India's patriarchal society.

The censorship controversy is also political. Despite the need for awareness on the issue, there is alarm that the documentary has given India a bad name at a time when it is emerging as a regional power and one of the world's leading economies.

Nevertheless, the solution to the crisis lies not in censoring the documentary, but in showing it—not in shooting Udwin, the messenger, nor in coercing women, but in

changing the male mindset and enforcing the laws that already exist. ■

*Mr. Ved is a New Delhi-based columnist and freelance journalist. He can be contacted at mabendravved07@gmail.com.*



## Seizing Aeronautic Independence

India's first indigenous fighter plane is ready to take to the skies.

by Siddharth Raval



**A**FTER MORE than 30 years of research and rigorous tests, Tejas – India's indigenous fighter plane—is ready to take off. The aircraft were handed over to the Air Chief Marshal by the defense minister in a discreet January ceremony. Despite delays, this is a major achievement for the Indian aerospace industry, bringing India closer to defense independence by developing its own aircraft with stealth capabilities. This supersonic fighter can reach speeds of Mach 1.4 and has completed more than 2800 extensive flight tests to date.

The planes could not have come at a better time to help revitalize India's aging fleet. The latest in a series of mishaps for its old military vehicles was the crash of a German-made surveillance aircraft at the end of March.

The Light Combat Aircraft (LCA) program dates back to 1983, when it was inaugurated with two purposes: primarily to replace India's ageing fleet of Russian MiG-21s, and secondly to boost India's domestic aviation capability. The Aeronautical Development Agency was established in 1984 to manage and lead the program, with Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) acting as primary contractor.

The ambitious project started with a budget of only \$91 million, which has since increased to about \$4 billion—over 40 times its preliminary budget. Despite the increase in costs, the LCA will be produced for less than the price of fighters from developed countries like the U.S., U.K., and France. With the new LCA and the Mars Orbiter Mission, which launched in November 2013, India has demonstrated its capability to achieve high quality results on smaller budgets than other nations.

**India has demonstrated its capability to achieve high quality results on smaller budgets than other nations.**

Retired Air Commodore K.A. Muthanna flew the aircraft for the first time on October 1, 2014 in its Initial Operational Capability configuration. The final configuration is anticipated early next year. HAL will deliver a total of 40 Tejas aircrafts in the coming years, and the air force plans to have a Tejas squadron ready for action by 2018. “Tejas will form the lower end of the strike package complimenting the heavy Sukhois

and the medium Rafales,” said Manmohan Bahadur, former Air Vice-Marshal, in reference to India’s Russian- and French-made aircraft. “It is ideal for point defense and strikes at low to medium ranges.”

The final configuration will be equipped with high-tech avionics, mid-air refueling, and long-range missiles capabilities. “LCA is the first Indian fighter

**“A nation with a strong defense industry will not only be more secure. It will also reap rich economic benefits.”**

aircraft with the capability for both radar warning and jamming using unified EW technology,” said the Director of the Defense Avionics Research Establishment, J. Manjula. “Over the coming months, we will be scheduling further sorties to evaluate the system in various signal scenarios.”

The history of South Asia’s geo-political make-up is notably complex. Located in one of the world’s most unstable regions, India appears to be creating a defense apparatus capable of standing its ground in the region. India’s aim of achieving self-reliance in design, development, and production of defense systems is critical for the country’s security. Currently, India’s military is strongly dependent on foreign equipment: recent data released by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) showed India’s arms imports increased by 140 percent between the periods 2005-09 and 2010-14. Between 2009 and 2013, India surpassed China as the largest arms importer in the world, with weapons imports now nearly three times greater than neighboring China and Pakistan. Its primary supplier is Russia, a now volatile player in geopolitics. Greater defense independence will increase India’s clout in international negotiations.

Full independence currently appears unlikely. Given the state of India’s own industries, imports are necessary for the nation. The government monopoly over the aerospace and defense sectors in India has hindered private companies from actively engaging in design and development in these areas. India’s Defense Industrial Base consists of 52 research establishments, nine public sector entities, and 39

ordnance factories, but still barely meets needs of its own armed forces. The Tejas aircraft is evidence that this may be changing.

“Why should we import defense equipment? Why can’t we send our defense equipment to other nations?” Prime Minister Narendra Modi asked in his address in June of last year when the INS Vikramaditya aircraft carrier joined India’s navy. At a major aviation conference in February, he vowed to move forward with this initiative. “A nation with a strong defense industry will not only be more secure. It will also reap rich economic benefits,” he said.

Even though the Tejas’ development journey has been rough—with several delays, continual design modifications, and material sourcing issues—it consists of 60 percent indigenous components. In addition to achieving self-reliance in aircraft production, the Tejas program has contributed to industrial sectors that can now create state-of-the-art products for global markets. Furthermore, the expertise generated in developing the Tejas could be extended to achieve hypersonic and stealth technologies.

The success of the program has opened the opportunity for an Indian defense industry that could soon meet domestic and export demands. Tejas marks an important chapter in the history of Indian aerospace and defense industry self-reliance. ■

*Mr. Raval has worked at Hindustan Aeronautics and is currently taking his Master’s of Mechanical Engineering at the University of New Brunswick.*



*LCA flying over the Himalayas (Credit: ADA India)*

# Remembering the Life that Changed the Future

Sixty years after his death, Alan Turing's innovations—and the controversy surrounding him—remain relevant

by Peter Bjel

**H**IS INNOVATIONS in solving mathematical problems brought about the earliest form of computers, and after more than sixty years, the world is finally willing to give Alan Turing's life and work a hearing. At his death in June 1954, his accomplishments in mathematics, code-breaking, voice encryption, computing, and artificial intelligence were overshadowed by an earlier conviction under antiquated, homophobic laws for several counts of "gross indecency". As an openly gay man living and working in Britain at a time when homosexuality was a criminal offence in that country, some believe that Turing was lucky to have escaped unscathed for as long as he did.

Why does Turing still matter? Living memories of the Second World War may be fading, but Turing played a vital role in the defeat of fascism in Europe. More broadly, his legacies live on in all realms that use and are shaped by computers and technology. After WWII, he refocused his efforts from code-breaking to computer technology and even artificial intelligence. Persecuted for the last two years off his life for his orientation, Turing could have been an even greater pioneer had he not died in 1954 in what was most likely a suicide.

The rehabilitation of his image took nearly sixty years. In September 2009—just months after the sixty-fifth anniversary of the Normandy landings—British Prime Minister Gordon Brown paid tribute to Turing's memory and issued a posthumous apology. "It is no exaggeration to say that, without his outstanding contribution, the history of the Second World War could have been very different," he said. "The debt of gratitude he is owed makes it all the more horrifying, therefore, that he was treated so inhumanely."

This was just the start. In December 2013, on re-

**He "foretold the cryptographic method—based on the multiplication of immense prime numbers—that today protects our credit cards."**

quest from Britain's Justice Minister Chris Grayling, Queen Elizabeth II granted Turing a posthumous royal pardon for the crimes he was charged with in 1952. Two years earlier, an e-petition had been signed by more than 34,000 people demanding Turing's pardon, but efforts stalled when Lord McNally, then Justice Secretary, denied it, arguing that Turing had been

“properly convicted” under then-existing laws.

Such reasoning did not stop U.S. President Barack Obama, during a speech at Westminster Hall in 2011, from paying homage to Alan Turing—along with

## His ingenuity was particularly valuable at cracking the Enigma codes utilized by the Germans in WWII.

Newton, Darwin, Edison, Einstein, and Steve Jobs—as a symbol of America and Britain’s “commitment to science and cutting-edge research.”

### Innovation Factor

Turing is fortunate to have several recent biographers, who are unanimous in declaring him a much-maligned figure. “Old-fashioned histories of the computer did not even mention Turing,” writes Jack Copeland in *Turing: Pioneer of the Information Age*:

“Yet Turing is at the root of it. There is a direct line from the universal Turing machine of 1936 that leads not only to the influential EDVAC blueprint, on which generations of computers are based, but also—via Colossus—to the very first modern computer, in [Max] Newman’s Manchester laboratory, and onwards to the first personal computer.”

Sixty-one years after his death, Turing’s work is still influential. Given the pervasiveness of technology and computers around the world—a trend that is only set to increase in the coming years—his legacy is just as ubiquitous.

Turing’s genius rested on an insatiable desire for innovation and mathematical challenge. This began while he was still an undergraduate at King’s College, Cambridge University. He conceptualized a computer-based, mechanical solution to the so-called ‘Entscheidungsproblem’ (the ‘decision problem’) of mathematics. Until then, no one had been able to conclusively prove that there are actually unsolvable problems beyond the reach of mathematics.

But Turing did, using the functions (and limitations) of what would become known as the universal Turing machine. He used the so-called ‘Halting Problem’—the problem of determin-

ing whether or not a machine would attempt to run a given program for a finite amount of time or carry on forever—as an example of such a limitation. This unsolvable paradox was the proof he used to solve the ‘Entscheidungsproblem.’

He also envisioned a forerunner of the computer. His universal machine would have been equipped with components (hardware) being programmed by multiple and distinctly patterned tapes (software), which would have to be developed and manually input (by software developers and computer programmers). Such a machine also featured the concept of stored memory—and it was articulated in a 1937 paper.

While completing a doctorate in mathematics at Princeton University, another pioneering step by Turing caught people’s attention. He built an electric multiplier, “capable of enciphering messages by multiplying large binary numbers together.” David Leavitt, in *The Man Who Knew Too Much: Alan Turing and the Invention of the Computer*, writes that this was another early effort that reverberates in the present, for it “foretold the cryptographic method—based on the multiplication of immense prime numbers—that today protects our credit card numbers when we shop on the Internet.”



*Photograph of Alan Turing in the National Portrait Gallery, London*



*The Enigma Machine during the Battle of France*

## The Enigma

Turing's contributions to defeating fascism began when he was contacted by British intelligence regarding breaking Germany's complex signals encryption. He spent most of the war at Bletchley Park, the location for British decryption efforts, in Hut 8, where Turing worked on the theoretical side of cryptanalysis. Bletchley would house about nine thousand officials working in tandem to break enemy codes, translate, and forward them to the authorities.

The German army, navy, and air force utilized something called the 'Enigma' machine to encrypt their radio and wireless messages. Roughly comparable in size and appearance to a typewriter, the machine had been designed after the First World War to be used by businesses to protect their trade secrets and business practices while communicating, but it was heavy and cumbersome. The German military picked it up, using it with increasing sophistication to the point that it was

believed Enigma codes, when properly encrypted, were unbreakable. This hubris worked in favor of the code-breakers. Not once during the war did Berlin consider that their codes might have been broken.

Turing used his methods of reasoning and higher mathematics to study German codes, find consistencies (termed 'cribs') in messages, and find weaknesses. His ingenuity was particularly valuable at cracking the Enigma codes utilized by the German navy, which had the heaviest encryption. Taking his cue from Polish cryptanalysts who had broken early Enigma signals prior to 1939, Turing oversaw multiple super machines, called 'Bombes,' which simultaneously simulated the activities of several Enigma machines. "On a good day," writes science journalist Jim Holt in *The New Yorker*, "a Bombe could yield that day's Enigma key in as little as an hour, and, by 1941, eighteen Bombes were up and running." With the Nazi communications rendered transparent, the British could pinpoint the position of enemy U-boats, steer convoys safely around them and, on the offensive, send destroyers to sink them.

"Basic theoretical issues that stretched to the limit the mental powers of the best contemporary mathematicians, logicians, and scientists were for him straightforward, or even routine," reflects one of Turing's contemporaries, the late philosopher Stephen Toulmin. "And this remained so, whether they had to do with the foundations of mathematics and logic, cryptanalysis or digital computing machines, morphogenesis or the philosophy of mind."

## Imitation Games

After 1942, Turing's professional life became a montage of initiatives and efforts that traversed a wide intellectual berth. He involved himself with American efforts at code breaking, travelling to Washington and New York in late 1942 to advise U.S. authorities and Bell Laboratories, where he was involved with voice encryption. On his return to England and visits to Hanslope Park, Turing was able to continue pursuing voice encryption work, which ended up culminating into a machine for this purpose, called 'Delilah.' It was never actually used.

Recruited by the National Physical Laboratory, Turing remained there until the spring of 1948, developing a library of software for an in-progress 'Automatic Computing Engine' (ACE), roughly based off one of the few remaining wartime 'Colossus' machines used to decrypt 'Tunny' signals later introduced by the Germans later in the war. He also spent time experi-

menting, not always successfully, with so-called 'delay lines' made up of pipes containing mercury that would enable the ACE's data storage capability.

Thereafter, he spent his remaining professional life at the University of Manchester, where he began applying his background to biology and artificial intelligence, helping to manage the university's so-called

game and computer conscience as a springboard, given that computers had gradually begun to acquire greater memory capacities. Turing's AI involvement introduced the concept of genetic algorithms, among others, which are now used widely, "with applications as diverse as code breaking, hardware design, pharmaceutical drug design, and financial forecasting," writes Copeland.

## Turing believed that human brains, in some capacity, were wired much as a machine, which is the basis of artificial intelligence.

Manchester 'Electronic Brain' as deputy-director of the computing laboratory. While there, he moved into increasingly philosophical realms. Turing believed that human brains, in some capacity, were wired much as a machine's capacity for computation was constructed, which is the basis of artificial intelligence research (and which formed the basis of Turing's hypothetical experiment, known as the 'imitation game'). "We may hope that machines will eventually compete with men in all purely intellectual fields," he wrote in a *Mind* article on the subject, adding, "We can only see a short distance ahead, but we can see plenty there that needs to be done."

Turing's universal machine never fully disappeared from his attention, and it was a springboard for his other ideas. Toulmin reminisced about his contemporary:

"It is not that Turing found such issues easy: just that he had cleared his head of the standard inheritances of confusion and cant, and had defined for himself a standpoint from which some of the deepest and most obscure corners of the twentieth century scene could be sharply illuminated."

Today's IT industries are a global phenomenon, and operate much as Turing hypothesized with the function of his universal machine. When the field of Artificial Intelligence (AI) emerged at the beginning of the 1960s, one of its pioneers, Donald Michie, used Turing's ideas rooted in the imitation

homosexual; it was one of the stringent conditions he imposed." Fatefully, this is what landed him in trouble with the authorities; by some accounts, it precipitated a long-term decline.

On the night of January 23, 1952, Turing's house was burglarized. He reported the incident to the police, citing as possible suspect a man known to Turing's current on-and-off lover, Arnold Murray. However, this suspect had already been apprehended and had informed the authorities of Turing and Murray's relationship.

Found guilty of several counts of "gross indecency" under an 1885 law, Turing was handed a one-year probationary sentence, with the alternative of jail time or submitting to chemical castration. Turing chose the latter. The perception was that homosexual urges could be cured by administering estrogen. It was believed gay

## Gross Indecencies



*A rebuilt Bombe machine*

## Remembering the Life that Changed the Future

men like Turing “suffered from a masculinity defect”, but as applying testosterone had been unsuccessful, the opposite was tried, just as unsuccessfully.

Turing lost his security clearance with British intelligence, but Manchester University largely disregarded the affair and kept Turing on staff. Turing continued having liaisons with other men, making trips to Norway and Greece for this purpose. He also remained

### It was believed gay men like Turing “suffered from a masculinity defect”.

heavily involved in his work, which now revolved around the use of computers to map biological growth.

On June 7, 1954, however, his housekeeper found him dead in his bed, a few days shy of his forty-second birthday. The coroner ruled his death a suicide. Cope-land, however, presents a convincing case that Turing’s death may have been accidental, and has identified loopholes in the suicide theory that would have been investigated in a modern inquest.

Hodges is the only one of Turing’s biographers

that pays particular attention to his subject’s gay identity, and presents his clash with the authorities as inevitable given his standing as an official carrier of government and intelligence secrets. Turing died at a time when the specter of McCarthyism was raging across the Atlantic, and homosexuality was deemed to be a security risk. According to Hodges, a 1950 U.S. Senate subcommittee had found that

“...it is generally believed that those who engage in overt acts of perversion lack the emotional stability of normal persons. In addition there is an abundance of evidence to sustain the conclusion that indulgence in acts of sex perversion weakens the moral fiber of an individual to a degree that he is not suitable for a position of responsibility.”

At the time of his arrest, Turing believed that a Royal Commission was poised to decriminalize homosexuality, but this would not happen until 1967. In this atmosphere, the nation that Turing had saved from enemy invasion a few years earlier—and which had bestowed on him the Order of the British Empire and elected him a Fellow of the Royal Society—turned against him. The burglar “had been justified in assuming that Alan was fair game for robbery,”



*The Olympic Torch at a statue of Turing on his 100th birthday*

writes Hodges. “As a sex criminal, he had forfeited the protection of the law.”

### Inclusivity and Beyond

In early March of this year, with Turing’s name now well in the mainstream, Britain’s Labour Party leader Ed Miliband pledged that, if elected, his party would overturn the convictions of at least 49,000 other British men that were convicted under the same law used against Turing. “What was right for Alan Turing’s family should be right for other families as well,” Miliband said. “The next Labour government will extend the right individuals already have to overturn convictions that society now see as grossly unfair to the relatives of those convicted who have passed away.” This mass rehabilitation would be called ‘Turing’s law.’ It remains to be seen whether such an ambition becomes government policy in Britain and elsewhere.

A recent Hollywood biopic, *The Imitation Game*, made Turing’s undoing a focal point. However, leaving aside the film’s historical errors, critics pointed out that Turing’s identity underwent an airbrushing. “In perhaps the most bitter irony of all,” writes Christian Caryl in *The New York Review of Books*, “the filmmakers have managed to transform the real Turing, vivacious and forceful, into just the sort of mythological gay man,

whiney and weak, that homophobes love to hate.” He added that acceptance under the law thanks to the pardon is not the same as social acceptance:

“This is indicative of the bad faith underlying the whole enterprise, which is desperate to put Turing in the role of a gay liberation totem but can’t bring itself to show him kissing another man—something he did frequently, and with gusto.”

Even worse, in the 2001 film *Enigma*, Turing was not only left out, his Bombes were credited to a fictional and thoroughly heterosexual protagonist.

In the end, Turing’s official pardon was a welcome closure to something that had maligned his place in history. That it took six decades to be brought about is not a reason for celebration, however. It says much about the remaining societal limitations on achieving universal rights for all. Turing’s memory remains key, not merely for his central importance to the basis of modern communication and even society, but as a reminder of the distance we still have to travel to reach equality. ■

*Mr. Bjel is a teacher and freelance writer based in Alberta, Canada. He received his M.A. in History and Politics from the University of Toronto and recently completed a B.Ed. at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.*



*Benedict Cumberbatch playing Alan Turing in the film 'The Imitation Game'*

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